

PERIODICAL ROOM
GENERAL LIBRARY
UNIV. OF MICHIGAN

copy 2

JUN 25 1930

25 cents

Current HISTORY

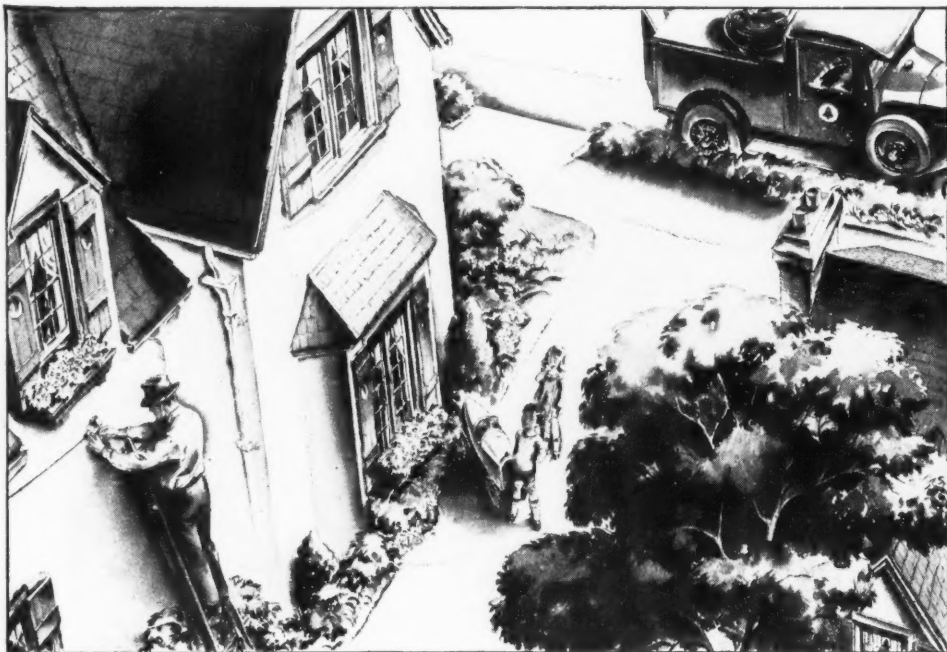
July



1930

SOVIET'S TWELVE YEARS (Official) *Boris Skvirsky*
IRELAND'S TWO GOVERNMENTS *Padraic Colum*
THE U. S. OF EUROPE *Count Sforza*
PROPAGANDA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF WAR
ARISTOCRATS STILL RULE BRITAIN *H. J. Laski*
MIXING RELIGION AND POLITICS *M. Mohler*
AMERICAN COLLEGE REVOLUTION *President Morgan*
CAUSES OF CHINA'S CIVIL WARS *Hallett Abend*
CATHOLIC AND JEWISH POPULATION TRENDS
THE BOLSHEVIKI AS HUMORISTS *L. Glassman*
THE PROBLEM OF THE NILE *Judge Pierre Crabites*
ANTI-ALCOHOL LAWS IN BELGIUM *Aimee Racine*
CANADA'S COOPERATION IN U. S. PROHIBITION
RUMANIA'S NEW REGIME *F. A. Ogg*
MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY *Fourteen Historians*

THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY



THE BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM IS ORGANIZED TO GIVE CONSTANTLY IMPROVED SERVICE . . .
QUICK, ACCURATE, EASY TO USE

What you want of the telephone . . . it is our business to give

An Advertisement of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company

WHEN you order a telephone, you want it put in promptly. During the last five years the average length of time needed to have a telephone installed has been cut nearly in half.

You want quick and accurate service, free from trouble. Good as the service was five years ago, today there are a third less troubles per telephone. During this same period there have been marked increases in the already high percentage of perfectly transmitted conversations.

When you make a toll call, you want a prompt, clear connection. Five years ago 70 per cent of all toll and long distance calls were handled while the calling person remained at the telephone. Today all but a very small per cent are handled this way.

The Bell System is organized to give constantly improved service. Several

thousand persons in the Bell Laboratories are engaged in research that improves the material means of telephony. The Western Electric Company, with plants at Chicago, Kearny, N. J., and Baltimore, specializes in the manufacture of precision telephone equipment of the highest quality. From its warehouses all over the country, it supplies the millions of delicate parts for Bell System apparatus.

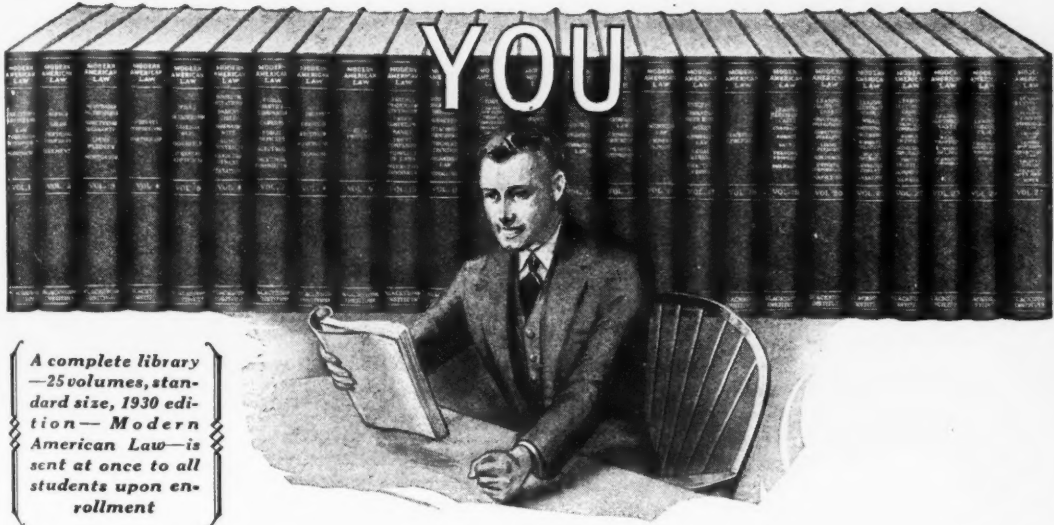
The operation of the System is carried on by 24 Associated Companies, each attuned to the area it serves. The staff of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company is continually developing better methods for the use of these operating companies.

Your telephone service today is better than ever before. The organized effort of the Bell System is directed toward making it even better tomorrow.



CURRENT HISTORY. Vol. XXXII, No. 4, July, 1930. Published Monthly by The New York Times Co. at Times Square, New York, N. Y. Price 25 Cents a Copy, \$3 a Year; in Canada, \$3.75; Foreign, \$4.25. Entered as Second-Class Matter Feb. 12, 1916, at the Postoffice in New York, N. Y., under the Act of March 3, 1879. Entered in Canada as Second-Class Matter. Copyright 1930 by The New York Times Co.

with a Law Training behind YOU



A complete library
—25 volumes, stan-
dard size, 1930 edi-
tion— *Modern
American Law*—is
sent at once to all
students upon en-
rollment

—Automatically Your Earnings Increase!

A LAW training provides definite rewards, and a law training acquired through Blackstone Institute places your future entirely within your hands. We have hundreds of letters telling of successes made by men and women who formerly stood in your position today. Law is the aristocrat of all study and its students are stamped as men of discernment and dignity.

Law Training Is Necessary Today

Look around you—ask the leaders of large enterprises and you will find that a training in law has been responsible in a great measure for the outstanding successes that men have attained, with no greater previous training perhaps than you have now. Your chances of stepping into an important position with an income of \$5,000.00 and upward yearly, are more than 60% in your favor with a law training.

"The Law-Trained Man"

Complete evidence of the merit and money-making possibilities of Blackstone training is contained in an attractive booklet, "The Law Trained Man." It proves that loafing time turned to study time today will provide richly for the future. We want you to know all about the wonderful opportunities that law will open up for you. Send for your FREE copy today!



Everything in Your Favor

The opportunities for law trained men in business are far greater today than ever before. Unemployment and temporary depression never need hamper the progress of the law trained executive—he is a valuable asset and his progress is governed almost entirely by his own will and efforts.

The Outstanding Home-Study Course in Law

Modern American Law (cited M.A.L. by the courts of last resort) is the basis of the Blackstone course. This library consists of 25 volumes and also serves as a valuable reference work upon the entire field of law. Elaborate lesson material in unit form is sent regularly, which directs the study carefully and calls attention to the money-making possibilities of using the principles of law in daily business affairs. Graduates are awarded the LL.B. degree.

The authors are outstanding legal authorities and include many of the country's best known judges, attorneys and law school deans and professors. These men know law—and how it should be taught.

A Salary Increase Tomorrow

—That would be welcome news to you, wouldn't it? We make no claims that the study of our course will bring a startling increase in income to every student and yet, many students report increases as high as 200% in their salaries after beginning the study of law through the Blackstone Institute.

We do claim that a law training is the best foundation for a successful business or professional career, and that our course is without a peer in the field of non-resident law instruction. Blackstone Institute, Department 180-B, 307 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago.

BLACKSTONE INSTITUTE

Dept. 180-B, 307 N. Michigan Ave., Chicago, Ill.

Please send me by mail, and without obligation, a copy of your book, "The Law-Trained Man," and details of your law course and service.

Name

Business Position

Business Address

City State



CURRENT HISTORY

Book Reviews

A History of Nationalism in the East

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

HANS KOHN is Professor of History in the new Hebrew University at Jerusalem. His comprehensive and illuminating book* was, however, drafted in Western Europe five or six years ago. Based upon an extraordinary range of reading (witness his twenty-six pages of annotated bibliography) the book describes with great discrimination and clearness all the principal developments and movements which are related to the spread of the idea of nationalism in Asia. While the main theme is the situation in the Moslem lands from Egypt to India, these cannot at all be understood without reference to the Far East and Africa nor without a full discussion of the trend of events in Great Britain and Soviet Russia, whose rival impacts upon Asia are the greatest external forces acting toward change.

To denominate this book a philosophy of history would convey a false impression of vagueness and abstraction. Nevertheless, its carefully expressed statements of historical events, descriptions of movements and summaries of the lives and works of influential individuals are unified and vivified by something like a philosophy of history which seeks to understand and interpret the recent past, the present and the immediate future. In general the book is so crowded with suggestive facts and ideas that the reviewer can only make a selection and recommend his reader strongly to peruse the book itself.

After a clear introductory statement the writer first describes the religious Renaissance movements in the Islamic world and India. In two long chapters he sets forth the political and cultural relations of Great Britain and of the Soviet Union to

the Orient, which here includes the whole of Asia, with some reference to Africa. He then takes up in more detail the progress of nationalism in Egypt, Turkey, Arabia, Persia, Afghanistan and India.

Professor Kohn sees the world since 1918 as grouping itself into "three great fellowships of common destiny." These are the European Continent without Russia, the Anglo-Saxon peoples, and the Asiatic and African peoples. He does not make it clear whether the Soviet Union constitutes a separate fellowship or is to become identified with the first or the last of the other three. As for the European fellowship, he sees its only hope in progress toward an economic and political unity in which the national State will become an impossibility. The Anglo-Saxon fellowship counterbalances its territorial disunity by an identity of language and civilization. It supports conservatively the national State, popular sovereignty and the capitalist system. The Asiatic fellowship, submerged for some generations by the aggressive success of the other two groupings, is now reacting in self-defense, subordinating the old dominance of religious ideas, adopting nationalism and capitalism, but becoming increasingly conscious and proud of the valuable element in its own cultures. Simultaneously, however, with the disposition to adopt the leading ideas of the European and Anglo-Saxon fellowships comes a penetrating influence from Soviet Russia with its political internationalism and its economic leveling. The Soviet practical philosophy discards imperialism in favor of a plan of local political self-determination, while striving to dissolve existing institutions and natural resources into one vast unity, in which the individual's desire for his own advancement in wealth and power shall be sublimated

**A History of Nationalism in the East.* By Hans Kohn. Pp. xi, 476. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co. 1929. \$7.

Current History for August

THE FRENCH FOREIGN LEGION

The famous cosmopolitan regiment whose exploits have provided material for many stories of romance and adventure.

By Sidney E. Whitman.

SOVIET RUSSIA'S CASE AGAINST THE UNITED STATES

A statement of the claims for damages alleged to have been incurred by American Intervention in 1918-1919.

By Frederick L. Schuman.

BRITAIN'S OPPOSITION TO ADOPTING PROHIBITION

An analysis of the liquor question in England and Scotland.

By William C. McLeod.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS IN CHINA

Two striking articles on the effect of nationalist antagonism to the religion of the West and the poor results from the expenditure of millions of dollars contributed by Americans for missionary work in the war-shattered Chinese Republic.

By Hallett Abend and Frank Rawlinson.

NUMEROUS OTHER ARTICLES OF IMPORTANCE

and

A MONTH'S HISTORY OF FIFTY NATIONS

-----**SPECIAL OFFER! 15 Months for \$3.00**-----

C.H.-7-30.

CURRENT HISTORY,
229 West 43rd Street, New York City.

I enclose \$3.00 (or I will remit on receipt of bill) for which please send me **CURRENT HISTORY** Magazine for 15 months.

Name

Street

City..... State.....

into a burning zeal for the common welfare. Where unable to inculcate its central doctrines, Russia encourages revolt against opposing ideas.

Thus Asia in adopting nationalism is forced to adjust the conception to other great forces. Egypt desires completely independent self-government, the immediate problem being the rearrangement of relations with Great Britain. Turkey has attained political independence, and desires freedom from hampering religious ties, with rapid increase in economic well-being and cultural assimilation with the West. Arabia holds firmly to the Moslem religion and to the idea of complete independence, while not devoid of a desire for mundane prosperity. Palestine is likely to become "a community in which two peoples will live side by side, enjoying absolutely equal rights." Persia and Afghanistan wish freedom from both Great Britain and the Soviet Union, while also progressing in the comfortable mastery of nature. India is far greater than these, not only in area, numbers and complexity but in the depth and cogency of her own culture. Here also appears most acutely the problem of adjusting relationship with Great Britain. Professor Kohn explains with great admiration for the British attitude, in which he sees far more than a desire for profits: "Her mercantile interests and her struggle for power have always been subject to correction by moral and religious ideals." The British aloofness has helped the Asiatics toward independence by maintaining a clear line of separation. "Indian nationalism came to birth under European influence, and it is assuming the form of modern European State nationalism more and more plainly and markedly. But as in Russia so in India there are possibilities of new types of social organization latent in the masses." Finally the writer points out that while Europe's political nationalism is losing authority at home, it is growing in Asia; "but this has created, for the first time in history, something approaching a uniform political and social outlook dominating the whole human race."

In such a wide survey, errors are remarkably few, but it should be noted that evidence does not exist that Sultan Selim I of Turkey had himself made Caliph, and that Islam "burst into India" not in the twelfth but in the eleventh century. Sixteen maps illustrate the "areas of common destiny," oilfields in the East, the Soviet States and other pertinent matters.

The Power and Secret of the Jesuits

By EVERETT DEAN MARTIN
DIRECTOR, PEOPLE'S INSTITUTE, NEW YORK

THE Society of Jesus is doubtless the most controversial subject in modern history. The very term Jesuitical has long been a synonym for unscrupulous machinations. Often feared and reviled by Catholics and Protestants



IGNATIUS LOYOLA

alike, its operations attended with secrecy, everywhere suspected of insinuating propaganda, driven from most of the capitals of Europe at the zenith of its power, and even suppressed by the Pope, this order may nevertheless be shown to have accomplished more than any other single agency toward the survival and spread of organized Christianity since the Renaissance.

The reader who is not familiar with the history of modern Catholicism will be amazed to discover not only that, in the words of the author,* "the Jesuits brought about a complete revolution in Catholic thought," and that as a religious reformer Loyola, the founder of the society, perhaps outranks Luther when estimated by the extent and variety of his influence, but that outside narrow religious interests, in exploration and discovery, in statesmanship and political philosophy, and in the arts and sciences, this society in its persistent reactionary efforts has contributed its share to the progress of general culture. Its history is that of a succession of men of extraordinary intelligence, versatility, adaptability and devotion, yet realistic, one may say lenient, so ready to make apparent compromise, so ready to understand men and movements which are entirely at variance with that medieval and scholastic Aristotelian Christian thought which the Jesuits have labored openly and secretly to fasten on the modern mind. In contrast with the Society of

**The Power and Secret of the Jesuits*. By René Fülöp-Miller. New York: Viking Press. 498 pp. 1930. \$5.

Jesus other propagandists, other ministers of religion, appear mere amateurs.

The ultimate objectives of the Jesuits may have been hopeless, even pernicious, and to the mind of this reviewer they have been just that; yet behind those practices and policies which have not always been, to say the least, noteworthy for candor, one cannot but discern an unmistakable sincerity. One notes, furthermore, a remarkable absence of that sentimentality and mental confusion frequently observable in contemporary liberal Protestant circles. The followers of Ignatius could, when necessary, think with rigorous logic. Whatever else may be said about them, these men knew what they wanted to do, and certainly during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they had the courage to go and do it. One must respect men of that sort.

But whatever one may think of the Jesuits after reading this remarkable book—I confess I finished the book with greater openness of mind and at the same time a stronger conviction of the futility and danger, I am tempted to add impertinence, of the Jesuits' attempt to ensnare mankind into the Kingdom of God—there will hardly be differences of opinion regarding the excellence of René Fülöp-Müller's monumental book.

The book is neither an apology for nor an attack upon the Society of Jesus. It is, so far as a non-Catholic can judge of its accuracy and point of view, fair-minded. With its material, drawn largely from controversial writings of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the author has achieved a degree of detachment which lifts his study wholly out of the class of propagandist literature. He is content to tell his story, and an amazing tale it is. In the author's own words "it introduces us to the salons of Paris society, the observatories of great astronomers, the primeval forests of South America, the ceremonial halls of China, the palace of the Sacrum Officium, the lodges of the Freemasons, into churches, conspirators' conventicles and hermits' cells; we pass through every epoch of recent times. We find ourselves involved in theological, philosophical, scientific, political, sociological and literary controversies until we at last realize that the 400 years we have explored are the most significant in the development and culture of modern humanity and are filled with its most decisive problems."

Perhaps the author has overstressed the variety and importance of the work of the Jesuits during the last four centuries.

Every Family should own this Newest, Greatest ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA

Write for **FREE** Booklet

The Encyclopaedia Britannica, Inc.
342 Madison Ave., New York City

TEACHERS

Or Young Women interested in child guidance or education can make a pleasant and lucrative connection with the Junior Literary Guild. The type of work that will appeal to a cultured and energetic young woman. Unusual chance for advancement for one who wishes to make this a permanent vocation. Write Mr. Hilton, Junior Literary Guild, 55 Fifth Avenue, Dept. C. H. 7, New York.

the most **UP-TO-DATE, READABLE,**
and **DEPENDABLE** of all Encyclopaedias

NELSON'S Perpetual Loose-Leaf
ENCYCLOPAEDIA

Write for **FREE** interesting portfolio.

Thomas Nelson & Sons, 381 Fourth Ave.
New York N. Y.



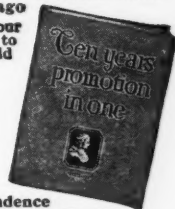
DO YOU WANT an important, high-salaried position? You can have one if you can do the work. LaSalle experts will show you how, guide you step by step to success and help solve your personal business problems thru the time-saving LaSalle Problem Method. Our salary-increasing plan enables you to prepare during your spare hours, without interference with your present duties. Simply mark on the coupon the field in which you desire success, and we will mail you a valuable book describing the opportunities in that field, together with an outline of our salary-increasing plan. Also copy of "Ten Years' Promotion in One." There is no cost or obligation. Find out how the salary-increasing plan starts average men and women on the high road to success and financial independence. Check and mail the coupon NOW.

— Find Yourself Through LaSalle —
LA SALLE EXTENSION UNIVERSITY

The World's Largest Business Training Institution
Dept. 7392-B Chicago

I should be glad to learn about your salary-increasing plan as applied to my advancement in the business field

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Business Management | <input type="checkbox"/> Modern Business Correspondence |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Higher Accountancy | <input type="checkbox"/> Modern Foremanship |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Traffic Management | <input type="checkbox"/> Personnel Management |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Modern Salesmanship | <input type="checkbox"/> Banking and Finance |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Railway Station Mgmt | <input type="checkbox"/> Industrial Management |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Railway Accounting | <input type="checkbox"/> Expert Bookkeeping |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Law—Degree of LL.B. | <input type="checkbox"/> C. P. A. Coaching |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial Law | <input type="checkbox"/> Paper Salesman's Training |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Business English | <input type="checkbox"/> Commercial Spanish |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Effective Speaking | <input type="checkbox"/> Stenotypy-Stenography |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Telegraphy | <input type="checkbox"/> Credit and Collection Correspondence |



Name

Present Position

Address

The reader is sometimes inclined to the suspicion that perhaps there is no phase of modern life, however secular and even personal, which is free from the secret plotting of the pious fathers; sometimes again one is doubtless inclined to give the Jesuits more credit than is due them. These reactions of the reader are the natural result of the propagandist sources on which the author has largely drawn for his material. Throughout the history of the order these antagonistic points of view have appeared. It should be noted that at the conclusion the reader is led to the question whether the whole attempt to lead the course of events back to medievalism has not been as unsuccessful as the Jesuits' opposition to the Copernican astronomy; that the forces of time and change working in science and the arts, in political affairs, and in religious and moral philosophy as well, have one step at a time evolved modern civilization, defeating the Jesuits at every turn of progress.

The issue is not, however, as simple as that. The author has been too wise to seek to estimate the work of the Jesuits from the standpoint of the modern view of progress. The author has discussed the controversies between the Jesuits and their opponents in the light of well-considered history of thought, ancient, medieval and modern. I have not seen in any contemporary discussion of a theoretical problem any writing which excels the chapters on "The Battle Over Free Will" and on "The Moral Philosophy of the Jesuits." The issues involved are presented with a wealth of philosophical and theological scholarship and with a sure, clear insight into the logic of each case which are most satisfying.

The biographical chapter on Ignatius is interesting, although it probably does not add anything to the material already available in English. Regarded merely as an adventure, there is an amazing story in the transformation of the unpromising, worldly ambitious and ignorant Spanish courtier who was wounded in battle in May, 1521, to the disciplined, masterful general of a military order which at the close of his lifetime was operating on a world-wide scale, conscious of an epoch-making historic task. Two facts cause Ignatius to be unique among religious devotees. Not content with the usual mystical ecstasy or esthetic practice, Ignatius possessed, first, an astounding psychological insight, shown in his book of the Exercise and in his worldly wisdom and knowledge of men, their weaknesses as well as their possibilities and usefulness.

In this latter, largely as a result of the beginnings made by Loyola, the Society of Jesus has always been so unique among Christian bodies as to be enigmatic. It has known when to tolerate, when to practice mental reservation and "probabilism," and how to work out a technique for judging sins and responsibility at once rationalistic and lenient.

The author argues on this point that the Jesuits in their moral philosophy were direct descendants of Aristotle. That they borrowed much from Aristotle's *Ethics* can hardly be denied, but it seems to this reviewer that the author has minimized one cardinal difference between Aristotle and the Jesuits, and that is the Christian doctrine of sin. I do not see how a moral system which regards the criterion of behavior to be the avoidance of sin against divine commandments can possibly be rationalistic in the Aristotelian sense. Christianity has always regarded man as a sinner and has looked upon human nature with a pitying contempt which is quite foreign to the ancient mind. It remained for the Jesuits, with their reason and their psychological knowledge, to elaborate this pitying contempt into a technique so lenient as to scandalize not only Protestants but many Catholics as well. But grant the doctrine of sin and perhaps we should regard the Jesuits merely as the most logical of Christians in the relentless struggle against the spread of liberalism.

Protestant readers will be deeply interested in the author's account of the Jesuits as champions of the freedom of the will and of individual responsibility. Both Luther and Calvin so emphasized divine sovereignty as to deny the possibility of human freedom or the efficacy of man's effort to perfection and salvation. Paradoxical as it may appear, Protestantism with its "liberalism" is deterministic, whereas the Jesuit point of view, reactionary as it is, is libertarian in this respect. In the Jesuit psychology, will is central. The salvation which others would hope for from divine grace the Jesuits would achieve by discipline, service, obedience:

The Jesuits, however, in direct opposition to such opinions, made themselves the exponents of another doctrine, according to which perfection could not only be experienced in supernatural ecstasy but also could be attained by the exercise of the natural human capacities.

The contradiction is, therefore, apparent rather than real, when the Jesuits preach on the one hand the saving might of free will and on the other unconditional obedience; for only he whose will is free

is able to surrender it on his own account to the service of an ideal.

From the beginning, the Society of Jesus has known how to make use of the personal qualities of its members, and it is in this very combination of discipline and individualism that novelty of the community founded by Ignatius lies.

It is no less surprising to note that various sociological and political ideas held to be distinctly modern had been elaborated by the Jesuits. Ignatius was the first to see the necessity of what we call social service as a means of overcoming poverty and wickedness. Among the many ironies of history which the book contains is that in which the Jesuits appear as authors of no less a democratic dogma than the sovereignty of the people. Henry III of France had allied himself with the Huguenots, and

at the Council of Trent, Laynez expressed himself still more clearly regarding the fate that awaited a heretical ruler. Sovereign power, he declared in one of his celebrated discourses, was originally vested in the people, and had been voluntarily delegated by them to the monarch; if the sovereign failed to govern in accordance with the wishes of his subjects, then they were free to reassert their prerogatives and depose the sovereign. This applies, he declared, more particularly in the case where the ruler of a Catholic country falls away from the faith which alone can procure salvation, and so brings about the eternal damnation of all his subjects.

The Catholic nation rose up against its heretically inclined ruler, and united to form the revolutionary Ligue, while from every pulpit the people were exhorted to armed rebellion, the agitators using as their principal argument the doctrine once propounded by Laynez, of the "sovereignty of the people."

Thus the Jesuits had furnished the ideological justification for the French revolution of the sixteenth century; they were not found lacking either, when it came to securing recognition of the demands of the Catholic people by force of arms.

Mariana, who had been active at the court of Madrid as tutor to the future King Philip III, had written for the edification of his pupil a tract entitled *De rege et regis institutione*, upholding the theory Laynez had expounded, to the effect that the power of the sovereign was delegated to him by the people, and that the sovereign was accordingly responsible to the people for ensuring a just rule. He went still further, however, by advancing the view that if, instead of ruling justly, the sovereign rules despotically and abuses his power by oppressing his

Be The Man Behind The Camera

Big Pay—Fascinating Work

TRAINED Motion Picture Cameramen in nation-wide demand —salaries of \$60 to \$250 a week. FREE BOOK tells how you can quickly qualify in our studios for well-paid position as ☐ Motion Picture Cameraman, ☐ Projectionist, ☐ "Still" Photographer or ☐ Photo-Finisher. Write for it NOW!

NEW YORK INSTITUTE OF PHOTOGRAPHY
Dept. O-6228 10 West 33rd Street, New York City

Public Speaking — Has Its Rewards

If you are interested—

—to develop the ability to speak effectively in public or in everyday conversation—to forge ahead twice as fast as you are now doing, read *How to Work Wonders With Words* now sent free.

This new booklet, recently published, points the road that thousands have followed to increase quickly their earning power and popularity.

It also explains how you can, by a new, easy home study method, beat timidity and fear. To read this booklet will prove to be an evening well spent.

Simply send name and address and this valuable free booklet will be sent at once. No obligation.

NORTH AMERICAN INSTITUTE

3601 Michigan Ave., Dept. 186-B, Chicago, Illinois

Mysterious Powers of Pelmanism

Let us send you a free copy of "Scientific Mind Training," an instructive book which explains an amazing system of mind training already used by more than 700,000 people. It will show you how and why Pelmanism is the only system of teaching for developing all the mental powers at the same time. Endorsed by such distinguished men as Edgar Wallace, Sir Harry Lauder, the late Jerome K. Jerome, Prince Charles of Sweden and hundreds of others. Write TODAY to

THE PELMAN INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

71 West 45th Street Suite H-1111 New York City

SHORT STORY WRITING



Dr. Esenwein

One pupil won a \$2000 prize. Another pupil earned over \$5000 in spare time. Hundreds are selling constantly to leading publishers.

Particulars of Dr. Esenwein's famous forty-lesson course in writing and marketing of the Short-Story and sample copy of THE WRITER'S MONTHLY free. Write today.

The Home Correspondence School
Dept. 43 Springfield, Mass.

Why We Are Men and Women

by A. L. Benedict, A.M., M.D., F.A.C.P.

An absorbing work on the probable sex of future children and how apparent chance is brought within the control of a law.

WILL YOUR CHILDREN BE BOYS OR GIRLS?

Read how scientists have taught thousands of parents to control the sex of their children.

\$2.50 at Bookstores

\$2.60 Postpaid

Allen Ross & Co., 1133 Broadway, N. Y. City

subjects, then the people are justified in ridding themselves of their despotic ruler, even by violence if need be.

Similar arguments were advanced against the Protestant ruler King James I of England when he set forth the Stuart doctrine of the divine right of kings. Thus it was that the propaganda used by Jesuits in raising Catholic subjects against heretical rulers became in time the doctrine of the consent of the governed, the sovereignty of the people, the revolutionary creeds of Locke, Rousseau, Jefferson and Samuel Adams.

The story of Jesuit activities as missionaries in Asia and in America and of their influence at the court of Louis IV, of the later widespread fear and hostility they aroused resulting in the papal decree abolishing the order, is too well known for further mention than to say that the author has made of it a fascinating, human document. One gets the distinct impression that the society ceased to be a vital factor in world affairs after the seventeenth century. Perhaps in this respect its decline is more apparent than real, or at least part of the progressive failure of Christianity since the Renaissance to inspire or direct the thought and activity of a world becoming—efforts of the Jesuits to the contrary notwithstanding—more and more secular:

"Enlightenment" now "opposed them with just those principles which they themselves for 200 years had always upheld against the Protestants and Jansenists."

Johnson of the Mohawks

By THOMAS ROBSON HAY

TO many readers "Johnson of the Mohawks" is hardly even a name, and they will perhaps be surprised to learn that for nearly forty years he was a power to be reckoned with among the Indian tribes of the Six Nations. He was a man of great reputation, one as famed in his time as was Washington, yet paradoxically today he is virtually unknown. Johnson lived in a rough and tumble period of conflict and transition and his career and achievements have been lost to sight in the immediately following more dramatic and widespread events of the American Revolution. Because much pertinent material has become available in recent years, the authors, after much

research and study, have been able to write a life of Johnson* in an authoritative, accurate, informing and intensely interesting manner. The book is a valuable contribution to the history of the period.

Coming to America from Ireland in 1738 at the age of 23, Johnson soon established himself in the Mohawk Valley as a trader with the Indians. As his fame and influence spread he added "to the ordinary burdens of business the ordering of a motley assortment of mutually antagonistic whites and Indians with one another." In the meantime "he made money, increased his holdings, begat the first of several families in the strangest matrimonial frame ever to enclose an American public man," traversing "the whole range of frontier responsibilities" to emerge a baronet, the second in America, a man of power and prestige, "rich beyond any American of his time."

Contending "against the land-hungry, gone well-nigh mad with the sight of open spaces," Johnson, because of his friendly and judicious treatment of the Indians, stands out as almost the only Englishman who dealt with them on a basis approaching equality. His influence with the Indians was very great and was largely instrumental in making possible the unhindered operations culminating in the capture of Quebec. His historical significance has never been so properly evaluated, his fascinating character and achievements never so interestingly and authoritatively described as in this book.

The book supplies one of the missing pieces that are being fitted into the mosaic of American history. If it has faults, they are rather of perspective than of detail. The authors do not orient Johnson's career to the westward movement of empire that was in his time beginning to assume form and reality, nor do they consider his career with respect to the far-reaching implications of this westward problem as they affected general British policy. Likewise they seem unnecessarily to belittle Sir Jeffrey Amherst when comparing the method and manner of his achievements to Johnson's contribution to the British conquest of Canada. But these remarks are more by way of comment than of criticism of a work that is admirably and interestingly done.

The bibliography is detailed and, with

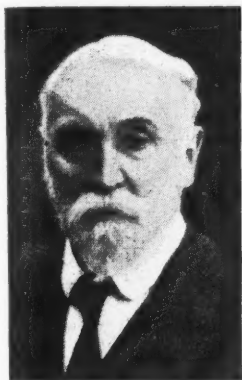
**Johnson of the Mohawks*. By Arthur Pound in collaboration with Richard E. Day. New York: The Macmillan Company. \$5.

one or two exceptions, it is complete so far as it affects Johnson's career. There is a good index.

Lord d'Abernon's Diary

By WILLIAM MacDONALD

THIS second volume of Viscount d'Abernon's diary,* in spite of the promise of the title, does not include the year 1924, the entries covering the period from June 12, 1922, to Dec. 31, 1923. To the diary proper is prefixed



LORD D'ABERNON

an essay on the French character, and a series of short "appreciations" of Poincaré, Asquith, Winston Churchill, Wirth, Maltzan, Stinnes and von Seeckt. Mr. Gerothwohl contributes, as in the first volume, a number of connecting narrative summaries which supplement and in part explain the diary entries, and an introduction

which surveys briefly the political characteristics of the period.

Chronologically, the volume begins about two months after the signing of the Rapallo Treaty between Germany and Russia and ends with the débâcle of the mark and the financial recovery which was shortly to be followed by the Dawes plan. The two-year period for which d'Abernon had agreed to continue as British Ambassador at Berlin was about to expire in June, 1922, but Lloyd George urged him to remain "until the present financial phase is completed." The financial phase, of course, was the

**Rapallo to Dawes, 1922-24: The Diary of an Ambassador.* By Viscount d'Abernon. With historical notes by Maurice Alfred Gerothwohl. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran & Co. 1930. \$5.



Lincoln educated himself at home. So Can YOU!

HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION AT HOME

by fascinating "Question and Answer" method. Used in 12,000 High Schools. Certificate awarded. Sensationally low price brings you this bargain in brain power. It's fun to learn this easy inexpensive way. Send for Free Book, "What a High School Education Can Do for Me." High School Home-Study Bureau, Dept. B166, 31 Union Sq., N.Y.



STUDY AT HOME

Locally trained men win high positions and big success in business and public life. Be independent. Greater opportunities now than ever before. Big corporations are headed by men with legal training. Earn

\$5,000 to \$10,000 Annually

We guide you step by step. You can train at home during spare time. Degrees of LL. B. conferred. Successful graduates in every section of the United States. We furnish all text material, including fourteen-volume Law Library. Low cost, easy terms. Get our valuable 64-page "Law Guide" and "Evidence" books FREE. Send for them NOW. LaSalle Extension University, Dept. 7392-L, Chicago. The World's Largest Business Training Institution



Lost! Hidden! Outlawed!

The original story of Adam and Eve—the story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife in Joseph's own words—the girlhood and betrothal of the Virgin Mary, and many more early Christian writings, hidden away from you for centuries but now yours in

THE LOST BOOKS OF THE BIBLE
You are invited to know these astounding revelations, collected in this one great book. Send for FREE descriptive folder to

LEWIS COPELAND CO.,
Dept. B-30, 119 West 57th St., New York

Learning to Write

This new book by M. M. Hoover, Assistant to the Director, University Extension, Columbia University, and H. F. Carlton, formerly Instructor in English, New York University, explains what to write about, how to go about it, how to criticize what you have written, etc.

"The advice they offer is sensible and practicable and they present it simply and interestingly."—*American Mercury*.

Price \$2.00. Money refunded if not satisfactory.
The Ronald Press Co., Dept. M361, 15 E. 26th St., N. Y.

BOOK BARGAINS

A SACHEL GUIDE TO EUROPE. 1929 Edition. By Wm. J. Rolfe. 49th Annual Edition. Revised and enlarged by Wm. D. Crockett. Ph. D., F. R. G. S. With maps, 1929 (\$5.00).
JOSEPH CONRAD—LIFE AND LETTERS. G. Jean-Aubry. 2 fully illustrated volumes. 1927. (\$10.00). \$1.98
These are typical of the hundreds of bargains listed in our Bargain Catalog No. 215CH. Send for a free copy.

UNION LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

118-120 E. 25th St. Established 1884 New York City
Herbert L. Bowman, Treas. & Mgr.

Whatever
your question

—whether it concerns the spelling, pronunciation, or meaning of a word; a fact about a famous character, or historical event, or geographical point; some detail of science, business, government, literature, or any other subject, look it up in the "Supreme Authority"

WEBSTER'S NEW INTERNATIONAL DICTIONARY

contains an accurate answer. 452,000 Entries, 2,700 Pages, 12,000 Biographical names, 32,000 Geographical subjects, 6,000 Illustrations. Regular and India Paper Editions. Write for specimen pages, etc., mentioning Current History, to
G. & C. MERRIAM COMPANY, Springfield, Massachusetts.



reparations controversy, rapidly becoming more acute, and destined, within six months, to reach a crisis in the French occupation of the Ruhr.

There are a number of allusions in the diary to the rather widespread impression that d'Abernon was the real director of British policy in regard to Germany during this time. It is hardly possible to tell from the diary exactly to what extent such was the case. D'Abernon was certainly on terms of friendly intimacy with German Government leaders and in constant touch with his diplomatic colleagues. He made occasional visits to England, was visited at Berlin by persons close to Lloyd George and Bonar Law, and confided to his diary the substance of many conversations and interviews on the political situation. It is natural to conclude that he was trusted and that his influence was considerable, but one must look elsewhere than in this volume for conclusive proof of the leadership with which he was credited.

The great episodes of the period were the Ruhr occupation and the fall of the mark. D'Abernon was profoundly averse to Poincaré's policy, feeling sure that it would accomplish no results of real importance and that it would complicate greatly the reparations settlement that must ultimately be made. Twice in his diary he summarizes the results of the occupation, each time to the marked disadvantage of the French. His opinion of Poincaré as a politician was unfavorable, and it did not improve. On Aug. 21, 1922, he notes that Poincaré's attitude is "that of a teacher who is constantly rapping a pupil on the knuckles, not realizing that he is moribund." On Nov. 25, 1923, he records that he has personally "always held the view that Poincaré's vaunted strength and obstinacy were based in large part upon the weakness of his opponents, and that once he met with a vigorous negative, backed up by an evident intention to act, he would probably modify his attitude." The needed check, he thought, might have been applied by Great Britain and the United States, notwithstanding Poincaré's deep resentment at American interference.

The decline of the mark to final worthlessness was watched with grave apprehension. Once recovery had set in, d'Abernon came to the conclusion that a settlement of the reparations issue could be reached only through the agency of some outside body, acting with the consent of Germany and of Germany's creditors, and vested with temporary control over such

German revenues as could most easily be made to support reparations payments. He thought, however, that the amount of reparations to be paid might better be left to the future. What he had in mind was something very similar to the later Dawes program. On the other hand, he was not inclined to be lenient with Germany. He frankly blames the industrialists of the Ruhr for their share in bringing on inflation, and as frankly scores the ineptitudes of German diplomatic correspondence. There is a curious entry in which he speaks of the unfitness of the German language for diplomatic purposes if it has to be translated into English or French.

The diary is rich in appraisals of political leaders and in its accounts of amusing or strained relations. Most of the German leaders come in for favorable comment; for Ebert, however, d'Abernon had "no special liking." His greatest regard was reserved for Stresemann. A third volume of the diary, *Dawes to Locarno*, is promised.

Soviet Russia

By V. F. CALVERTON
EDITOR, *The Modern Quarterly*

BOTH these books* are by men who have lived for considerable time in Russia, and who know the language as well as the life of the people there. Dr. Dillon spent much of his early life in Russia during the days of the Czar, when



WILLIAM H. CHAMBER-
LIN

he was at one time a professor at the University of Kharkov and later on was on the staff of several Russian and English newspapers. This new book of his, which is a result of a recent trip that he made to the Soviet Union in 1928, is all the more interesting because of its frequently apt comparisons and contrasts between Russia before the revolution and Russia

**Soviet Russia*. By William Henry Chamberlin. Little, Brown Company, 1930. \$5.
Russia—Today and Yesterday. By Dr. E. J. Dillon, 1930. Doubleday, Doran Company. \$3.50.

today. Mr. Chamberlin, on the other hand, has known only the Russia of today. Nevertheless, both writers practically agree in their estimates of current developments in the Soviet Union and in their appreciation of what the Bolsheviks have done in their struggle to establish a new social and cultural order.

Mr. Chamberlin's is a better because it is a more comprehensive and dynamic book than is Dr. Dillon's. In fact, Mr. Chamberlin's book is perhaps the best all-around, detailed account that we have on record of what has happened in the Soviet Union. There is scarcely a significant aspect of contemporary life in Soviet Russia that is neglected. Beginning his book with a historical picture of Russia before the Revolution, Mr. Chamberlin gets quickly into the current material, and proceeds to describe and discuss the nature of the Soviet State with its diverse and devious ramifications. Soviet economy, Soviet politics, Soviet education, and Soviet ideology in general as it expresses itself in thought and action, are analyzed in careful and extensive detail. Dr. Dillon's book, unfortunately, is not nearly so adequate. It is sketchy and far less objective in its approach. As a personal narrative, however, it is interesting and informing, and really fascinating in parts, but it is without the authoritative conviction of Chamberlin's volume.

Both Chamberlin and Dillon are enthusiastic about what has developed in Soviet Russia. It should not be thought, however, that because of their enthusiasms their attitudes are uncritical. Both books attempt to weigh facts in the manner of a journalist, praising that which is advanced, and attacking that which is backward. Take education as an example.

Both writers stress the fact that all education in Soviet Russia is Marxian, almost an apostolic Marxism, but despite that neither fails to extol what actually has been accomplished in educating the populace. In the matter of books alone, and the cultivation of reading as a habit among the people, both writers are enthusiastic. Dr. Dillon, for instance, comments on the fact that judges "by the vast number of bookshops * * * one might readily imagine that Leningrad and Moscow exist mainly for the purpose of radiating universal knowledge over the planet." The book-store of the Leningrad State Publications keeps open until 9 P. M.—that, Dr. Dillon notes, "in a city in which banks close at two o'clock in the afternoon and the principal stores a couple of hours later." Mr. Chamberlin shows that 26,850 new books in 99,942,603 copies appeared in Russia in 1913, while 32,649 new books were published in 221,257,941 copies in 1927. The fact that the number of copies has increased much more than the number of new books "testifies to the wider reading habits."

The peasant problem, which is the crucial problem in contemporary Russia, again finds both writers in reasonably close agreement. Both are interrogational as to the future, and both recognize the full extent of the difficulties that face the Soviet Government in its attempt to socialize agrarian production and collectivize the ideology of the peasant. At the same time Chamberlin and Dillon are greatly impressed by all that has been done for the peasant since the Revolution. Dr. Dillon, for example, claims that the peasant owes a deep debt of gratitude to his liberators "who * * * freed him, roused him from his lethargy, introduced

TRAVEL - for 'UNCLE SAM'

RAILWAY POSTAL CLERKS

MAIL CARRIERS—POSTOFFICE CLERKS
GENERAL CLERKS—CUSTOMS INSPECTORS

\$1700 to \$3400 a Year for Life

No "lay-offs" because of strikes, poor business, etc.—sure pay—rapid advancement. Many other U. S. Government jobs. City and country residents stand same chance. Common sense education usually sufficient.

STEADY WORK

Cut coupon and mail it before turning the page.

MEN—BOYS 18 to 45

Use Coupon Before You Lose It

COUPON

FRANKLIN INSTITUTE, Dept. M309, Rochester, N. Y. Rush to me, free of charge, (1) A full description of the position checked below; (2) 32-page book, with list of steady positions obtainable; (3) Tell me how to get the position checked.

☐ By. Postal Clerk, \$1900 to \$2700 ☐ General Clk., \$1260 to \$2100
☐ Postoffice Clerk, \$1700 to \$2300 ☐ Customs Inspector, \$2100 up
☐ City Mail Car., \$1700 to \$2100 ☐ Rural Mail Car., \$2100 to \$3300

Name

Address

him to the world of action, set him ennobling tasks, and qualified him to perform them." As to the problem of Trotskyism and the plight of Trotsky, Dr. Dillon has nothing to say, but Mr. Chamberlin is emphatic in his defense of the attitude of the Soviet Government. He sees the defeat of Trotsky as signifying the "decisive victory for the party proletariat over the party intelligentsia."

These books both show how deeply ingrained Soviet culture has already become among the people. Not even a counter-revolution could destroy it today. In point of fact, as Mr. Chamberlin writes, "the workers of Russia, with more than a decade of Soviet rule behind them, would never, I think, submit again to the discipline of a private employer."

The Unity of the World

By PRESTON W. SLOSSON

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE best review of this book* has already been written in the brief prefatory note by Charles A. Beard, himself, in many aspects of mind and style, the Ferrero of America. Says Mr. Beard, "It is a small book about a great

subject by a distinguished thinker." To that nothing need be added except a summary of what the book has to say to us.



GUGLIELMO FERRERO

Guglielmo Ferrero, like Count Sforza and Benedetto Croce, is a useful reminder that even in these days of Mussolini and nationalism gone mad there are Italians who preserve in perfect balance the suave reasonableness of Cavour and the liberal enthusiasm of Mazzini. They know that the true destiny of Italy is to be a particularly fine brain cell for the world, not to be a strutting bully of a great power like pre-war Germany or a mystical absolutism in which real human beings are

sacrificed to the ghost of a Roman State. Since the times forbid them to be politicians they have become philosophers. Italy may not be able to profit from their writings but the rest of us can owe an eternal debt to Italy for their sake.

Now, it is just as easy and as little profitable to be an enthusiast for world unity as for anything else. If Ferrero had merely turned aside from his histories to write a tract on human brotherhood we could say, "What a well-meaning man!" and pass on to something less trite. The value of the book consists rather in its careful intellectual honesty, facing all the real difficulties and meeting them with reasons, not with catchwords.

The basis for world unity has been laid not by any one's intention but by the spreading of industry and trade which make every event in any part of the world re-echo in the most distant nations. Isolation, whether desirable or not, is no longer possible. Unfortunately economic unity does not suffice while people are still divided into hostile political units. "Each people considers itself an Abel threatened by a Cain." The fall of absolute governments and the rise of democracy has intensified national feeling by making governments and peoples the same. The modern spirit of the West, democratic, progressive, liberty-loving, will not permit one nation to achieve an artificial world unity by forceful domination. Even Europe collectively can no longer dominate the world, because Asia is becoming nationally conscious through its very contact with Europe. "Western culture is a powerful vehicle of the critical and revolutionary spirit which nibbles at the States and empires founded in Asia and Africa by the West. *The moment a people is Occidentalized, it revolts against the Occident.*" [Italics mine.]

Every attempt to force a premature unity by imperialism is bound to be a failure. Even the attempt to compel all subjects of one government to speak a common language only stiffens opposition. Time, patience and freedom alone can solve the language problem. In a sense the leadership of the world must pass to the United States, in spite of the fact that the United States, displeased by the failure of the peace congresses after the war to concede the "freedom of the seas" (perhaps Ferrero exaggerates the importance of this single factor), disdains political cooperation with Europe. The real Americanization, however, is not the hegemony of the United States as a

**The Unity of the World.* By Guglielmo Ferrero. 196 pp. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. 1930. \$2.50.

nation but the introduction of American industrial methods and standards of life based on them into other countries. American optimism "simple and simplifying, is a state of mind which sometimes irritates Europeans who know that all the branches of the human family did not receive from God 6,500,000 square miles of fabulously rich land to exploit. Nevertheless this absolutism is, together with the abundance which nourished it, an element of social stabilization the importance of which cannot be exaggerated, and a most powerful antidote against the discordant tendencies that are so active in every rich and cultivated civilization."

The world cannot be united by capitalism alone. It is true that big business usually prefers peace to war. "If the fate of war and peace had been, in 1914, in the hands of the plutocracy, the world would have grown as old as Methuselah in peace and contentment." But business men are not good politicians; they ignore the complexity of diplomatic questions; they cannot control the dogs of war. Nor are the devices of statesmen guaranteeable for all coming time. No League of Nations could have prevented the wars for unifying Italy and Germany, and similar problems, insoluble by the present methods of Geneva, may arise in the future, especially in Asia. The Church, also, has signally failed to check the rising absolutism of the State and its demand for the blood sacrifice of patriotic war.

Where then shall we look for our goal of world unity if it cannot be guaranteed by any power or group of powers based on military force, nor by American finance, nor by peace congresses and leagues, nor by religion? Have all devices failed, and are we reduced to the pessimistic conclusion of eternal war? Not so. "Despite the ruination caused by the war and the moral disorder which it left everywhere, we still belong to the ablest, the richest, the most humanitarian age in history." What industrial, political and intellectual forces alone cannot achieve may be brought about by their combined action. One condition is, however, necessary. These liberalizing, civilizing forces must be permitted free play and not be stifled by narrow dictatorships. In free countries the intellectual class, by its criticisms, will exercise a steadily moderating effect on national egotisms, and the masses of the people, under a system of universal suffrage, will incline toward policies of moderation and compromise which will often avert war. "Cast an eye over Europe and compare the nations

which are ruled by universal suffrage—France, England, Germany, Belgium—with the countries where universal suffrage has been chained up by an armed minority—Russia, Italy. What do you see? The former are governed by a policy of intermediates, that is to say by compromises between ideas and parties, conciliation between conflicting interests. In the latter the dominant minorities employ extreme methods." Only minorities stay mad for any great length of time in any one direction. Where majorities rule one man's extreme radicalism is balanced by another man's excessive conservatism and the net result is an easy-going government disinclined to revolutionary excesses and dangerous ventures.

Such is Ferrero's thesis, which every statesman and voter will be the wiser for studying. The book is well gotten up, but there seem to be a few misprints which affect the meaning; for example, "Europe created after 1915," on page 62, should doubtless have been "after 1815."

Krupp

By JOHN G. GAZLEY

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE

IT is unfortunate that the editor of the letters of Alfred Krupp should have written no kind of introduction or preface to his volume.* The reader is only told that it was published "at the request of the Family and Firm of



FRIEDRICH KRUPP
Founder of the firm

Krupp (1812-77), son of the founder of

Krupp," and cannot fail to wish to know whether the editor has seen all Herr Krupp's letters and has made his own selection or whether he was given access to only part of the papers.

Nevertheless, the volume is of very great value and interest, whether or not the collection is complete. Most of the letters were written by Alfred

*Krupp: A Great Business Man Seen Through His Letters. Edited by Wilhelm Berdrow. Translated by E. W. Dickes. 416 pages. New York: Lincoln MacVeagh, The Dial Press, 1930. \$5.

the firm and unquestionably the greatest member of the family and the one who made the name of Krupp of world-wide importance. A comparatively small number of the letters were written to Herr Krupp and were evidently included only when they could throw light on his career or character. The letters are arranged chronologically. The volume is divided into five parts, but the dates which separate the parts do not seem especially significant. At intervals of from ten to thirty pages there appear paragraphs in smaller type which serve to emphasize certain developments in the succeeding section and sometimes to furnish the reader with facts of importance in the life of Herr Krupp which are not covered in the letters.

The great majority of the letters were written to business associates, to salesmen of the firm, to the directors who managed things when Krupp was absent, to prospective customers, to other firms who furnished raw materials and to government officials regarding patent rights or orders. Hence, much of the material is quite technical, and many sentences and even paragraphs will mean little if anything to the general reader with no especial engineering or mechanical training. But the technical material does not destroy the interest and value of the book, either for the historian or for the general reader.

Many letters other than those to business associates are included—love letters to his wife, family letters to his son and brothers, and letters to such notables as von Roon, Alexander von Humboldt, General Todleben and the Emperor William I. The student of general history will be surprised to find that Krupp met with little encouragement in his gun inventions from his own government, that his improvements were adopted more quickly by Russia than by Prussia, and that he complained of the vacillation of von Roon.

The economic and social historian will find in this volume a rich source from which to draw material on the rise of one of Germany's most famous industries and to illustrate the attitude of one of her most famous capitalists toward socialism and the labor problem. In many respects Krupp was an excellent example of the better type of nineteenth century capitalist. Although a firm believer in the profit motive in industry, Krupp also laid much emphasis upon fair dealing and especially upon the production of only the best quality of goods. He always took pride in his benevolent attitude toward his employees,

both because he believed it good policy and because he felt a real responsibility for their welfare. At the same time he insisted that no one connected with his works should join a trade union.

The lover of biography will find Krupp a dominating and at the same time a fascinating and likable personality. He was an autocrat in his family and in his business, a man who refused to accept any active partner, and who did not hesitate to appeal directly to the King for support when he could get no satisfaction from officialdom. It is difficult to judge from his letters whether he was unscrupulous. Certainly he was brutal toward his enemies, but the impression gained is that such brutality was not so much an indication of ruthlessness as of a puritanical sense of self-righteousness combined with an imperious will. But Alfred Krupp also had a more sympathetic side to his nature. He was able to write a playful and affectionate letter to his "dearest sweetheart," his wife, Bertha Krupp, and to become sentimental over the little frame house where he and his father had struggled. Above all, he was a generous and hospitable friend. One of his most attractive characteristics was his complete frankness to his friends. "One friend does not take anything amiss from another," he wrote, "not even a mistake or a blunder, if the intention was not bad."

The book is excellently translated and free from typographical errors. It is unfortunate that it is provided neither with a list of the letters at the beginning nor with an index at the end.

Two Books on India

By W. H. ROBERTS

PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY, UNIVERSITY OF REDLANDS

"INDIA presents to the world the unusual spectacle of a government which is avowedly in a state of transition. As a rule governments regard themselves as being the last word in political architecture, monarchs rarely profess that they are but the temporary forerunners of republics. Parliamentary or presidential democracies do not look forward to being replaced by more scientific forms; and when democracies break down into dictatorships the dictators do not talk much about making way for more perfect successors. But in India we can study a government in the chrysalis stage. It is not quite sure about its present existence.

But it remembers changing from something that was familiar and recognizable and it expects rather uncertainly to hatch out into something else."

The quotation is from a reprint of the special India number of *The Times* (London) of Feb. 18, 1930.* The name of the author is not given; but the paragraph might have been written by any one of the thirty or more distinguished administrators and experts whose names do appear as contributors to this interesting volume. The same spirit is obvious throughout the entire book. Everywhere it is recognized that India is not a mine to be exploited but a continent teeming with a vast population to be welded into a nation and trained in self-government.

The immensity of the task staggers any serious imagination. India is as large as all Europe east of Russia and excluding the Scandinavian peninsula. The diversity of languages, of races, of religions, and of cultures is even more appalling in India than in the Western Continent. A United States of Europe is regarded today as a fascinating but fantastic dream. Yet England is seriously planning to make *one nation* out of the peoples of India and to prepare that nation for a dignified and responsible rôle among the world's powers! If that goal is ever achieved, it will constitute a unique chapter in the world's history and the supreme glory of the British Empire.

In fifty brief chapters and fewer than 300 pages, thorough masters of the subjects tell in simple language what they are trying to do and what they believe they have accomplished. A former Governor of Bengal contributes an admirable summary of "The British Achievement." The workings of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms are described. Difficulties and perplexities are acknowledged with a frankness that is a happy augury for future understanding and progress. A former Bishop of Bombay writes judiciously—no easy task—upon Christian missions. An official of long experience and with a genuine literary gift tells of a single day's routine in "An Indian Village." Three chapters are devoted to "The Monuments of India." Three more discuss trade and industry. And three more on "Sport" conclude the volume.

To appraise the present struggle correctly, one must view it in the vast perspectives of Indian geography, ethnology

and history. *The Times Book of India* is no substitute for serious, painstaking study. But it is an admirable introduction to such study and an excellent survey of the field.

*India in 1928-1929** is the annual report of the government of India prepared for presentation to Parliament. It contains nearly 400 closely printed pages. There are few illustrations. It is not intended to be popular and it is not easy reading. It is indispensable, however, for serious students of Indian affairs. Any reader must be impressed with the immensity of the government machinery, with the multitude of its tasks and its interests, and with the baffling complexity of its problems.

Of particular interest just now are the charts indicating the sources of revenue and the expenditures for the year 1927-28. It is interesting to note that the salt tax to which so much attention has been drawn amounted to about $\frac{1}{2}$ cent per pound and yielded about 3 per cent of the total revenue—about \$14,000,000 out of about \$470,000,000. Customs duties yielded 22 per cent, railways 17 per cent and land revenue 16 per cent. Military services consumed 26 per cent, police, jails, and justice 9 per cent, and general administration only 6 per cent.

"The Truth About India" is not to be found in any one book nor in all the writings of any one of the parties in the present struggle. The two books under review give England's side of the argument. They present England's case, clearly, dispassionately and impressively. Both books are well worth reading and serious consideration.

Toward Civilization

By M. K. MUNROE

FROM the pessimism apparently inherent in our age Mr. Charles A. Beard is trying to raise us with mass production of optimism. But this book† for which he is responsible does not succeed in that aim, though his own contribution to it, the introductory chapter,

Continued on Page 818

**India in 1928-1929*. By J. C. Coatman, Director of Public Information, Government of India. Printed by the Government of India at the Central Publication Branch, Calcutta, 1930. Price Rs. 2/4 or 4s.

†*Toward Civilization*. Edited by Charles A. Beard. 307 pp. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930. \$3.

**India*. *The Times Book of India*. Reprinted from the Special India Number of *The London Times*, March, 1930. 288 pp. Cloth, 7s 6d.

CURRENT HISTORY

Vol. XXXII.

TABLE OF CONTENTS—JULY, 1930

No. 4

A SURVEY OF SOVIET RUSSIA'S ACCOMPLISHMENTS.....		Boris E. Skvirsky	649
Director, Soviet Information Bureau, Washington, D. C.			
THE PROPOSED FEDERATION OF EUROPEAN STATES:			
I.....		Count Carlo Sforza	658
		Former Foreign Minister of Italy	
II.....		John B. Whitton	662
		Director of the School of International Studies, Princeton University	
ARISTOCRACY STILL THE RULING CLASS IN ENGLAND.....		Harold J. Laski	666
		Professor of Political Science, University of London	
MIXING RELIGION AND POLITICS.....		Mark Mohler	674
		Professor of History and Political Science, Skidmore College	
THE EFFECT OF DUAL GOVERNMENT IN IRELAND.....		Padraic Colum	679
		Irish Poet and Essayist	
THE PORTUGUESE REPUBLIC SINCE THE WAR.....		Alva E. Gaymon	686
		Lisbon Journalist	
THE CAUSES OF CIVIL WAR IN CHINA.....		Hallett Abend	689
		Resident Journalist in Peking	
CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS.....			697
BELGIUM'S ANTI-LIQUOR LAWS.....		Aimée Racine	703
		Doctor of Laws, University of Brussels	
THE JOYS AND SORROWS OF THE MECCA PILGRIMS.....		Arthur Torrance	707
		Fellow of the Royal Society of Tropical Medicine	
CANADA'S COOPERATION IN PROHIBITION ENFORCEMENT.....		R. L. Jones	712
		Department of History, University of Pittsburgh	
TRANSFORMING THE AMERICAN COLLEGE SYSTEM.....		Arthur E. Morgan	717
		President, Antioch College	
THE BOLSHIEVIKI AS HUMORISTS.....		Leo M. Glassman	721
REBUILDING THE ECONOMIC LIFE OF RUMANIA.....		Frederic A. Ogg	725
		Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin	
CATHOLIC AND JEWISH POPULATION TRENDS IN AMERICA:			
I—THE CATHOLIC SITUATION.....		J. Elliot Ross	732
		Associate Administrative Director, School of Religion, State University of Iowa	
II—THE JEWISH PROBLEM.....		Uriah Z. Engelman	734
		Writer on Jewish Sociological Problems	
THE PROBLEM OF THE NILE.....		Pierre Crabitès	737
		American Judge, Egyptian Mixed Tribunal	
PROPAGANDA AS AN INSTRUMENT OF WAR.....		George C. Bruntz	743
		Department of History, Paso Robles High School, California	
WE IMMIGRANTS.....		Albert Bushnell Hart	748
		Professor Emeritus, Harvard University	
RESEARCH AIDS AERONAUTICS (RECENT SCIENTIFIC PROGRESS).....		Watson Davis	752
		Managing Editor, Science Service, Washington	
AERIAL EVENTS OF THE MONTH.....			756
WORLD FINANCE—A MONTH'S SURVEY.....		Bernhard Ostrolenk	831
		Editorial Board, The Annalist	
A MONTH'S WORLD HISTORY.....		Current History Associates	758-817
ALBERT BUSHNELL HART	HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE	SIDNEY B. FAY	JOHN H. WUORINEN
JOHN B. WHITTON	RALSTON HAYDEN	ELOISE ELLERY	EDGAR S. FURNISS
CHARLES W. HACKETT	OTHON G. GUERLAC	FREDERIC A. OGG	ALBERT HOWE LYBYER
			HAROLD S. QUIGLEY
BOOK REVIEWS:			
A HISTORY OF NATIONALISM IN THE EAST.....		Albert Howe Lybyer	626
THE POWER AND SECRET OF THE JESUITS.....		Everett Dean Martin	628
JOHNSON OF THE MOHAWKS.....		Thomas Robson Hay	632
LORD D'ABERNON'S DIARY.....		William MacDonald	633
SOVIET RUSSIA.....		V. F. Calverton	634
THE UNITY OF THE WORLD.....		Preston W. Slosson	636
KRUPP.....		John W. Gazley	637
TWO BOOKS ON INDIA.....		W. H. Roberts	638
TOWARD CIVILIZATION.....		M. K. Munroe	639
BRIAND, MAN OF PEACE.....		Leo Gershow	819
THE CRITICAL ERA.....		E. Francis Brown	820
AN AUSTRIAN STATESMAN.....		Jonathan F. Scott	822
NEW ZEALAND IN THE MAKING.....		C. Hartley Grattan	823
BRIEF BOOK REVIEWS.....			824
THE MONTH IN LITERATURE.....		Malcolm O. Young	825
RECENT IMPORTANT BOOKS.....			826
PICTORIAL SECTION.....			641-648
TO AND FROM OUR READERS.....		Editorial Department	828

[THE TITLES OF THE ARTICLES, ALSO THE BIOGRAPHICAL REFERENCES TO THE AUTHORS, IN CURRENT HISTORY MAGAZINE, ARE WRITTEN BY THE EDITORS]
[Contents copyrighted 1930 by The New York Times Company]

PICTORIAL SECTION

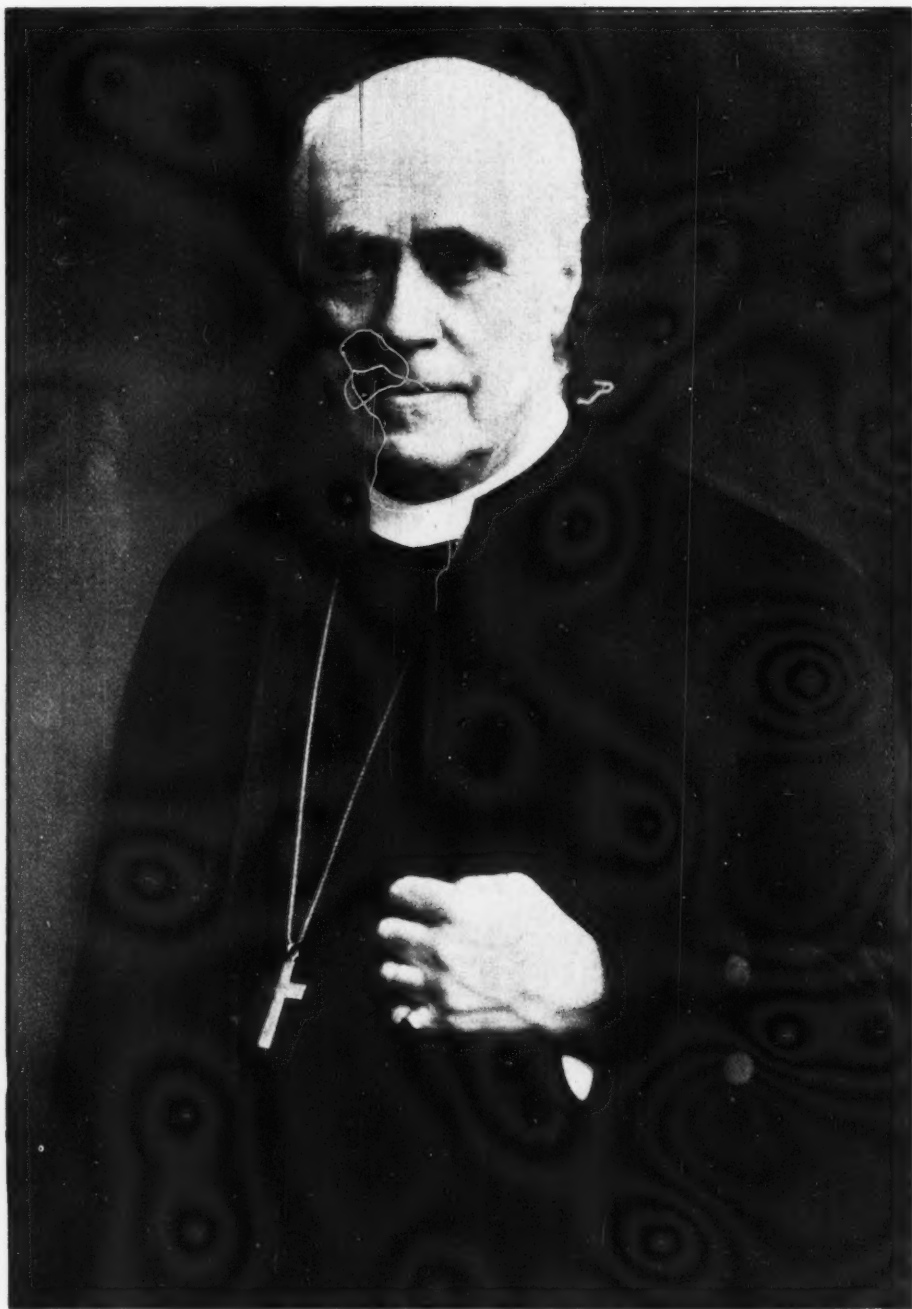


Underwood & Underwood

OWEN J. ROBERTS

The new Associate Justice of the Supreme Court whose nomination was unanimously ratified by the Senate on May 20. Mr. Roberts, who fills the vacancy created by the death of Justice Sanford, is a noted Pennsylvania lawyer

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY



Photograph by Richard Speaight, London

THE VERY REVEREND RANDALL THOMAS DAVIDSON
Head of the Church of England from 1903 to 1928, who died on May 25 at the age of 82. He had the distinction of being the only Archbishop of Canterbury ever to resign, which action was attributed to the House of Commons' rejection of prayer-book revision which he sponsored.

INDIAN POETESS AND NATIONALIST LEADER



Times Wide World

MRS. SAROJINI NAIDU

Who took command of the civil disobedience campaign after the arrest of Mahatma Gandhi and Abbas Tyabji. After leading a number of salt raids, she was imprisoned on May 23

THE YOUNG PLAN MADE EFFECTIVE



THE CEREMONY IN THE QUAI D'ORSAY, PARIS.

Representatives of France, Great Britain, Belgium and Italy depositing their ratifications of The Hague protocol at the French Foreign Office on May 9, thus putting the Young plan and the International Bank officially into operation. Standing (left to right): M. Briand, Lord Tyrell and Count Manzoni; seated: M. Gaffier d'Hestroy, the Belgian Ambassador

Associated Press

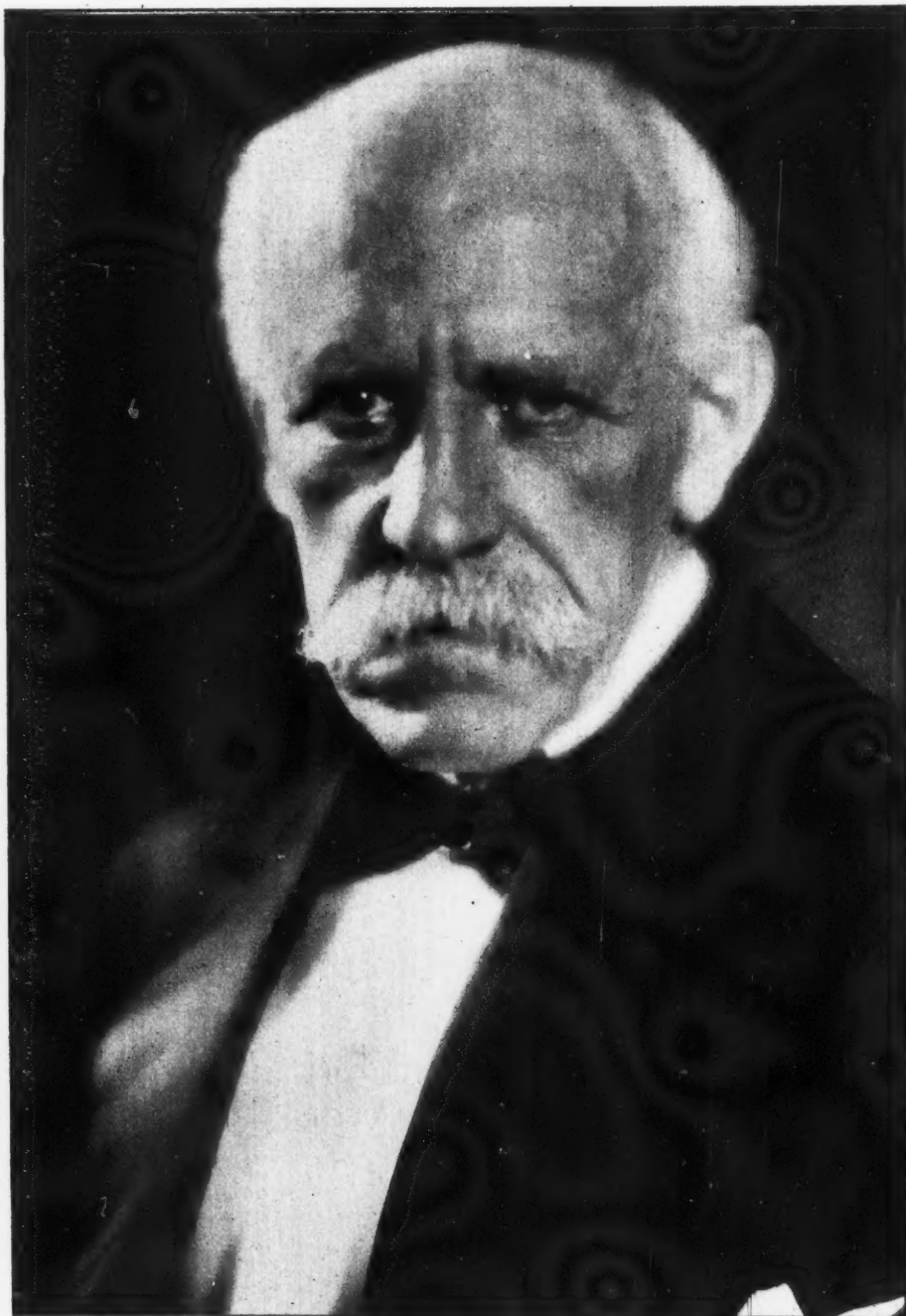
THE RHINE EVACUATION



Times Wide World

SOLDIERS OF THE FRENCH ARMY OF OCCUPATION
Dipping their flags in the Rhine as they left Bacharach, Germany, after eleven years of occupation, which was finally terminated on June 30

DEATH OF NORWEGIAN EXPLORER

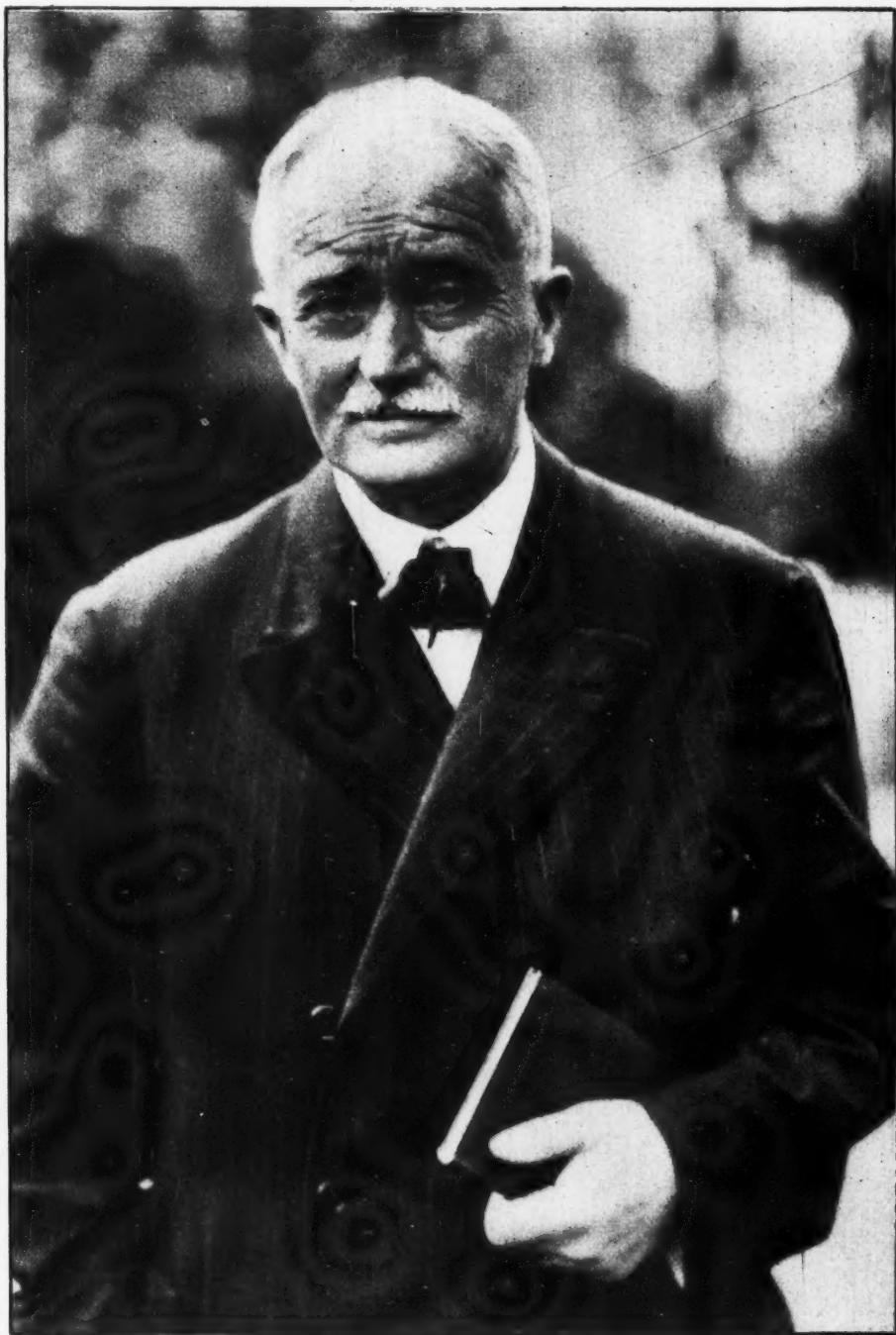


Underwood & Underwood

FRIDTJOF NANSEN

Scientist, Arctic explorer and humanitarian, who died at Oslo on May 13 at the age of 68. In 1888 Dr. Nansen crossed Greenland on skis; in 1893-96 he piloted an expedition in the Arctic; and after the war he organized the relief of the starving Russians and Armenians

ENGLAND'S POET LAUREATE

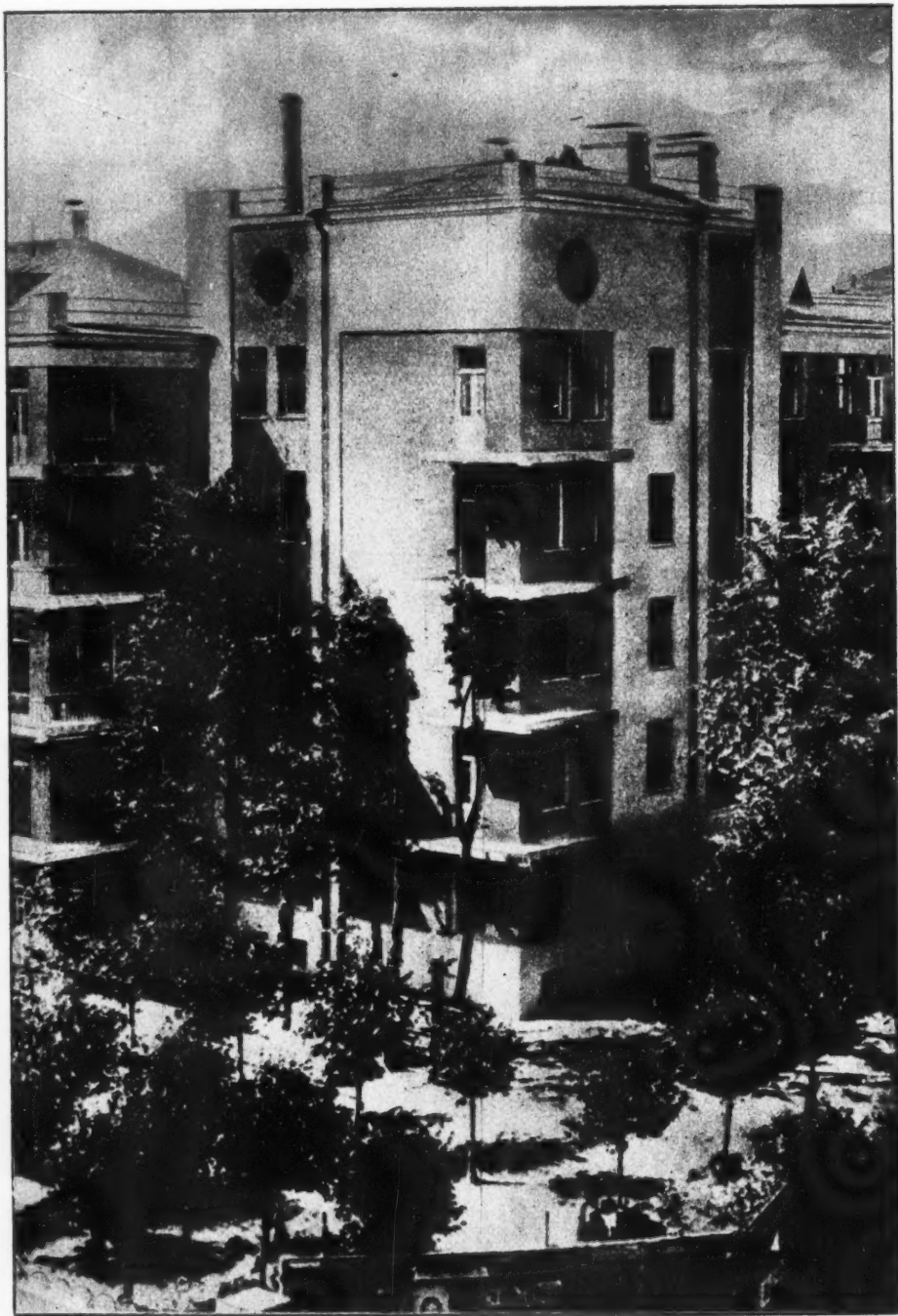


Times Wide World

JOHN MASEFIELD

The author of "Dauber" and "Reynard the Fox," who was chosen to succeed the late Robert Bridges as Poet Laureate

NEW SOVIET CONSTRUCTION



From USSR in Construction.

WORKERS' HOUSES IN IVANO VO-VOSNESIENSK

The new textile centre, called the "Russian Manchester," where modern living conditions for workers are being provided for the first time

Current HISTORY

A Survey of Soviet Russia's Accomplishments

By BORIS E. SKVIRSKY

DIRECTOR, SOVIET UNION INFORMATION BUREAU, WASHINGTON, D. C.

DEVELOPMENTS IN the Soviet Union during the past twelve years must be viewed in the light of a struggle for the creation of a Socialist State. A Socialist society means a classless society, a commonwealth based upon socialized means of production and upon exchange and distribution as functions of the producing State conducting its entire economy on the basis of a general plan. Socialism aims at the realization of equality. But growing out of capitalism, socialism is of necessity in its early stages tainted with some remaining inequalities. The gap between intellectual and physical labor, for instance, still to a considerable extent prevails. The motto, "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," signifying complete economic and social equality and real

harmony between the individual and society, can be realized only at an advanced stage of socialism. The latter is known as communism, of which socialism is the initial stage.

In the Soviet Union the land, factories, means of transportation, banks belong to the State. Industrial production is in the main a function of the State, though there still is small-scale private production. Almost the entire economy is being developed according to a general plan, but exact planning was more adequate in the industrial field than in agriculture, where individual holdings were until lately predominant. But the collectivization of most of the peasant holdings, and the considerable increase in size and number of State farms, will make it possible to apply more exact planning to agriculture as well. External trade

is a monopoly of the State; internal trade is nearly all in the hands of the State and cooperatives, though in the sphere of retail trade private interests are still active, having a turnover of about one-tenth of the total. Factory owners and landlords no longer exist in the Union, but there still are the nepman in the city and the kulak in the village. The present struggle for the collectivization of the peasant holdings and for the elimination of the kulaks, as a class, mark the further movement of the Union toward the goal of a classless society.

In the building of a Socialist State the Soviet Union is a pioneering country. Except for the general direction indicated by revolutionary Marxism, there was no previous experience in history to draw upon. The start for this reason was not to be a sure and easy one. However, under the leadership of Lenin the revolution successfully went through its most trying and difficult period.

The World War, the civil war, foreign military intervention, the blockade and the famine dislocated the country almost completely. Life was disorganized, industry and agriculture at their lowest ebb, and hardships, naturally, widespread. But in that period of travail, the revolution won its struggle for existence. During the first years the foundation of the new State was laid; the land, factories, banks and so forth were nationalized. The exigencies of war, however, did not permit the development of the nationalized industries and of agriculture. The necessity of feeding a huge army of soldiers and workers dictated the pooling of all resources, the requisitioning of the surplus of farm products, especially of grain, and the introduction of the system of rationing of food and of other necessities of life by the State. Free trade mostly disappeared and currency became almost valueless. Banks were rendered superfluous.

Such was the first stage of the revolution, from 1917 to 1921, known as the period of "War Communism."

Having helped to weather the four-year storm, "War Communism" gave way to the Nep (New Economic Policy), which marked the beginning of the second stage of the revolution, that of peaceful economic rehabilitation. The advent of peace made it possible to initiate the most important immediate task, that of restoration of industry and agriculture to their pre-war productivity. The system of requisitioning surplus foodstuffs and other products from the peasants by the State could now be replaced by a fixed tax in kind and a free market could be re-established. Subsequently a single agricultural tax in money was substituted for the tax in kind. Taxation in the cities was also re-established. These measures were followed by the reopening of banks, State owned, and by the introduction of a stable currency. State, cooperative and private stores were equally functioning and competing. Foreign trade remained a State monopoly from the beginning of the revolution.

The introduction of the Nep was interpreted abroad as the beginning of the liquidation of the revolution and a return to capitalism. But the interpretation was wrong. The Nep, as it is clear to everybody now, was merely a necessary stage of the revolution. The goal of the November revolution, the construction of a Socialist State, remained the same.

The second stage of the revolution ended in 1926, with the restoration of industry and agriculture to their pre-war level. This was accomplished despite numerous pessimistic forecasts of the doom of the Soviet Republic. This skepticism had its place not only outside Soviet Russia but also within. Such an authority as Krassin, speaking in March, 1923, before the Twelfth Congress of the Communist party, declared that without foreign loans industry would not be restored. But the impossible happened.

The year 1927 marked the beginning of the third stage of the revolution, that of reconstruction of the country's productive life on a new technical

basis. Already, as far back as 1920, while still surrounded by tremendous difficulties, Lenin, realizing the importance of electrification of the Soviet Republic, established the State Committee for Electrification, instructing it to work out under his personal guidance a comprehensive plan for the electrification of the country. This was done, and on Dec. 21, 1921, the plan was ratified by the government. It provided for the construction within ten years of thirty regional power stations, with an aggregate capacity of 1,750,000 kilowatts. This has not only been accomplished during the last few years, but actually surpassed and greatly extended. The period of reconstruction is still continuing.

In the Autumn of 1922 Lenin expressed satisfaction on finding that the government was able to invest 20,000,000 rubles for the restoration of the heavy industries. After Lenin's death, when the metallurgical industry, in May, 1924, was producing from 10 to 15 per cent of the pre-war output, plans were being discussed for the investment of between 100,000,000 and 200,000,000 rubles during a five-year period in this most important branch. These sums, insignificant in terms of investments of today, serve to illustrate the great advance made since 1921. This advance will stand out more strikingly by comparing two years—1929 and 1913.

The output of manufacturing industries (so-called "census industry"), which amounted in 1913 to 6,400,000,000 rubles, in 1928-29 totaled 10,200,000,000 at pre-war prices, an increase of over 60 per cent. The combined output of all electric power stations, which in 1913 amounted to 1,945,000,000 kilowatt hours, in 1928-29 aggregated 6,465,000,000, an increase of 232.4 per cent. Compared with the year 1913, the following increases of production in percentages were registered in 1928-29: Coal, 40.5; oil, 47.3; cotton cloth, 82; agricultural machinery, 175.8; cotton, unginned, 31.2. Railway freight, moved in millions of ton kilometers, increased 62.3 per cent over 1913. The

metallurgical industry suffered most from the civil war. Its restoration, requiring tremendous capital, naturally proved the hardest industrial task, but even in this field progress has been made. Production of steel in 1928-29 showed an increase of 10.6 per cent over 1913. The output of pig iron was still slightly below pre-war.

The picture in the field of agriculture is not so striking. At pre-war prices, agricultural production in 1928-29 shows an increase over 1913 of 12.7 per cent. Production of grain shows a decrease of 4.8 per cent as compared to the pre-war average for the five years 1909-1913. Agricultural production has definitely lagged behind industry.

Foreign trade is still behind the pre-war level owing to the absence of grain exports, but it is catching up. An interesting feature of the development is the growth of the share of industrial products in the total exports.

General conditions of labor have advanced too much to be even compared with the pre-war misery of the workers. The Soviet Union is a State of workers and peasants, and the well-being of the working masses is of paramount importance. Even in 1926-27 real wages for workers were about 15 per cent higher than in 1913. Since that time there has been a continuous rise. By the end of 1928-29 real wages reached 133 per cent of 1913. Besides, many additional benefits and services are enjoyed by the workers free of charge—social insurance against sickness, old age and unemployment; vacations (two weeks to a month), various recreational and educational facilities. The best health resorts, rest houses and palaces are at the disposal of the workers. The eight-hour day is being replaced by the seven-hour day which, toward the end of 1929, was applied to about 500,000 workers; by the end of 1930 the number will include over 1,100,000 and at the end of 1932 will embrace all the workers. The introduction of the shorter working day did not in general affect the level of wages. In 1929 the

five-day week was introduced. This gives the worker one day of rest out of every five, besides the five national holidays and the regular yearly vacation.

Planned economy is an attribute of a Socialist society. As indicated above, a planning board in the field of electrification was already in existence in 1920, but real planning, embracing almost the entire economy, began regularly in 1925, with the appearance of the so-called "control figures" for 1925-26, issued by the State Planning Commission. Since then each year has had its "control figures." Development of the Soviet Union since October, 1928, both in the field of economy and culture, has become even more systematic and in accordance with an adopted five-year plan, a fitting expression of the rapid movement of the Soviet Union toward industrialization.

The five-year plan provides for a total capital investment of 93,000,000,000 rubles (at prices of respective years 74,200,000,000 rubles), including expenditures in new construction and improvements of 78,000,000,000 rubles (at prices of respective years 65,000,000,000 rubles). While the actual total capital investment amounted to 8,200,000,000 in 1927-28, it will, according to the plan, rise to 27,700,000,000 rubles in 1932-33. It is being planned to invest 4,470,000,000 rubles in electrification (exclusive of power stations in industrial plants) during the five-year period (1926-27 prices being taken everywhere, unless otherwise indicated). The total aggregate power capacity is expected to be 324 per cent of that of 1927-28, and the output 431 per cent (over eleven times the production of 1913). Capital investment in industry alone, not including industrial housing, is expected to total 24,900,000,000 rubles. The actual investment in industry, which in 1927-28 amounted to 1,900,000,000, in 1932-33, is expected to reach 7,400,000,000 rubles. The gross output of all industries is expected to be 236 per cent of that of 1927-28. The gross agricultural output is expected to be 155 per cent of that of 1927-28. Cap-

ital investments in agriculture during the five-year period are planned in the amount of 20,600,000,000 rubles. The actual investment in 1927-28 amounted to 3,100,000,000 (with buildings). Capital investment in transportation for the five-year period is planned at 13,640,000,000 rubles, of which 9,520,000,000 will go for railways. For social welfare and cultural work during the five-year period 21,400,000,000 rubles are to be spent. In the course of 1927-28 the amount actually spent for those purposes was 2,400,000,000 rubles.

It is hoped that the plan will be completed in four years, instead of five, a new loan being now issued with the motto, "The Five-Year Program in Four Years."

During 1928-29, the first year of the five-year plan, the construction of about 100 industrial establishments was completed. Two oil pipe lines in the Caucasus previously started were put in operation. The important new Turkestan-Siberian Railroad, over 1,100 miles long, was completed in April, 1930, over a year ahead of schedule. Three large automobile factories are under construction. One of them is to produce 140,000 cars yearly. Technical assistance in this construction is being given by the Ford Motor Company. Plans are already being made for a fourth factory with an annual capacity of 160,000 cars. To supply the automobiles with tires, a large rubber tire plant is being constructed. Two large tractor plants with a productivity of 50,000 units each are being built. One of them, the Stalingrad plant, begun in 1929, may be completed by the end of 1930. Construction of a third with a much larger capacity will be started in a few months. A number of metallurgical plants, textile factories, power plants, and so forth, have been completed, and many others are under construction.

Plants for the production of combines are being constructed. An agricultural machinery plant, the largest in Europe, is being constructed in Rostov-on-Don. Complex machinery, which was never produced in Old Russia, is being

manufactured at the present time.

The increase in production in 1928-29 for State large-scale industry was fixed, under the five-year plan, at 21.4 per cent above 1927-28; the actual increase was 23.4 per cent. The improved general outlook and the introduction of the continuous working week, with three shifts, permitted a sharp upward revision of the planned increase in output for 1929-30. The original figure was 21.5 per cent, the revised figure 32.1 per cent.

In two fields the first year failed to come up to expectations, according to the plan. This was in reducing the cost of production and in raising the productivity of labor. The decrease in production costs was about 5 per cent instead of the scheduled 7 per cent; labor productivity was increased 14.5 per cent instead of the scheduled 17.3 per cent. An increase in wages of 10.5 per cent instead of 7.2 per cent was one of the reasons that handicapped the lowering of production costs.

The first six months of 1929-30 (October, 1929-March, 1930), the second year of the five-year plan, show an increase in the industrial output of 28.8 per cent above the corresponding six months of the previous year, which in turn exceeded the six months of the year before by 21.5 per cent. Productivity of labor has shown an increase of 10 per cent and cost of production a reduction of 5 per cent.

In the realization of the vast program, European and especially American skill is being utilized. Numerous contracts for technical assistance have been made with the largest American firms. Several hundred American engineers and technicians are at work in the Union. Total Soviet-American trade, estimated on the basis of purchases and sales, reached \$155,000,000 in 1929. This is more than three times the pre-war business. Most illuminating is the following comparison: Russian purchases in America in industrial and electrical equipment, which in 1913 amounted to \$1,800,000, in 1928-29 totaled \$34,000,000. The Soviet Union is becoming one of the most important

purchasers in America in various lines of machinery. Twenty thousand tractors were bought recently, bringing the total for the last three years up to about 50,000 units.

The workers, who are the backbone of the system, are creating special "shock brigades" to lead by way of example in increasing the output and productivity of labor and decreasing the cost of production. The movement is spreading fast and whole factory crafts announce joining the "shock brigades." Entire factories, plants and offices, challenge one another in "socialist competition" to show better results. The whole country is affected by these "competitions," which yield excellent results, both in productivity and morale.

Side by side with the progress in almost the entire sphere of Soviet economy there still exists, however, a shortage of goods which is likely to continue for some time in the future. This shortage is an inevitable result of the revolution which has awakened the needs of the masses. The material well-being of both the workers and peasants has risen and as a result their consumption of goods is far in advance of that of pre-war times.

The program of industrialization, which means at the same time the modernization of what was once backward Russia, has been meeting a considerable obstacle in the slower development of agriculture. As a direct result of the revolution, the number of farms increased more than 100 per cent (from 12,000,000 to nearly 26,000,000). The average size of the farm (about twelve acres) was too small to make it economically productive. Though the output of grain as a whole was about the pre-war volume, exportation was impossible because most of it went to satisfy the needs of the producers and only a comparatively small part reached the market. Consumption on a larger scale by the peasants themselves and by the workers, as compared with pre-war times, was another reason. The only way substantially to increase the supply of raw materials, to secure the unhampered development of indus-

tries, and to guarantee a sufficient production of grain for the needs of the country and for export, is large-scale production. Primitive agriculture on small holdings cannot accomplish this end. Consequently, either the rich peasants, who make up less than 5 per cent of all the peasantry, were to be encouraged to large-scale production at the expense of the remaining 95 per cent, or the numerous poor and middle peasants were to be encouraged to combine their holdings into large collective farms to enable them to obtain the advantages of large-scale industrial farming. The first alternative would produce new landlords and would therefore be inimical to the interests of the great majority. The other would be in the interests of the mass of the peasants, and would at the same time greatly accelerate the movement toward socialism and strengthen the Soviet State.

Naturally, the second way has been adopted, and numerous farms are voluntarily being merged into large-scale collective farms. The predominant type of the collective is the agricultural "artel," in which the means of production and labor of its members are combined. Individual fields are being merged into larger units and the general agricultural equipment socialized, but the dwellings of artel members remain their own property, while the land surrounding the houses (gardens, orchards and so forth) is set aside for individual use. Smaller agricultural implements necessary for private use are not socialized. One cow, small live stock and poultry are left the individual members for their personal use.

The kulak (from the Russian word for fist, because of the exploiting habits of this class of peasant) prospered only in an atmosphere of poverty and misery and he, naturally, scented danger in the program of collectivization of the poor and middle peasantry. The kulak began to show his opposition to the State program by withholding his grain, by attacking local officials and peasants active in the movement of building collective farms, by burning

the stores and ruining the machinery of the near-by collective farms. As the development of agriculture could neither be stopped nor postponed, the kulak as a class only hastened his doom.

Collective farms and State farms came to life soon after the revolution. But owing to the complete disorganization of industries, they received very little attention from the State. A large movement for the collectivization of agriculture could not be developed without a corresponding technical basis and material resources. This was the most important handicap, which to a large extent was overcome by the end of 1927. There was to be considered also the prejudice of the peasant toward large-scale farming. The only large farms the peasant had known were those of the feudal landlord. Only a gradual process of education could help. The government farms and the existing collective farms were to overcome the suspicion of the peasant and convince him of their economic soundness and value. This has been to a great extent accomplished. The economic soundness of the collectives and of the State farms was proved in comparison with the private holdings by superior productivity, which was from the very beginning 15 to 30 per cent higher.

At the present time there are over 100 new, large and wholly mechanized State farms. Of these the "Giant" farm of over 250,000 acres is the largest. A visitor to this farm wonders if he really is on the territory of Old Russia as he views the huge new elevators, numerous powerful American tractors, combines, latest road building machinery, and watches peasant boys, not so long ago ignorant village shepherds, who had never before seen a tractor, now proudly operating the great machines as though they were nothing new to them.

The year 1929 marked the turning point in the attitude of the peasants. Despite certain mistakes on the part of some overzealous members of the local

administration in various parts of the Union, the whole Five-Year program as to collectivization has already been surpassed. The Five-Year Plan provided for the collectivization of 55,000,000 acres and of 20 per cent of the peasant holdings. It is considered that from 40 to 50 per cent of the holdings of the poor and middle peasants in the grain-producing regions are already merged in collectives. Thus, the transformation of agriculture is actually taking place and its pace surpasses all expectations.

The question is often asked; "Where does the money come from?" The answer is simple—the socialized economy of the country enables it to pool all its resources under a unified financial plan. This plan takes into consideration all existing sources of funds, whether they come from the federal budget, the local budgets, the banks, government industrial and trading enterprises, cooperative societies, social insurance funds, State insurance funds, and the like. In the year 1929-30, for instance, it is estimated that there will be available from all sources 18,200,000,000 rubles. (In 1928-29 the total sum actually amounted to 12,200,000,000 rubles). Of this sum 36.6 per cent is to come from profits of enterprises, 31.2 per cent from taxes, 14.2 per cent from internal loans, 9 per cent from insurance funds and so forth. Over 60 per cent of the whole fund will be spent for the needs of the national economy, 22.8 per cent for social and cultural needs. Though the funds are large, they cannot satisfy all the needs.

The purchasing capacity of the currency does not undergo any considerable fluctuations. Since the government and cooperatives handle at present about 90 per cent of the total retail trade and about 100 per cent of the wholesale trade, with the government regulating prices, temporary growth in currency circulation does not cause any noticeable rise in commodity prices. Soviet currency is not quoted on foreign exchanges and is not exported from or imported into the country. Transactions

with foreign countries are carried on in foreign currency. The rate of exchange of the chervonetz (10 rubles) in the Union is stable. The gold ratio for the State Bank notes has been continuously above the required 25 per cent.

With industry and commerce at present almost entirely in the hands of the State and with most of the credit transactions being among various State organizations or cooperatives, partial reorganization of the entire credit system of the country, that is, its simplification in conformity with the entire Socialist structure, became feasible. Commercial paper is being done away with in transactions between State organizations, cooperatives and mixed companies. The State Bank is becoming more than before the centre of all accounts and credit arrangements. As a result of this measure, a relative decrease of currency in circulation may be expected.

The Soviet Union inherited from Old Russia appalling illiteracy and backwardness with which even in its thirteenth year it still has to contend. But much has already been accomplished. Thus, 47.4 per cent of children of school age were attending school in 1915 but the percentage rose to 88.6 per cent in 1928; compulsory school attendance for all children of 8 years of age and over is in existence in urban communities and by 1931-32 is expected to apply to almost all rural communities; the number of children receiving an intermediate education has increased, compared to pre-war, by 54 per cent. Three-quarters of the entire population was illiterate in Czarist Russia; by the end of 1929 the percentage was reduced to 45 per cent, counting both the rural and urban population; in urban centres the percentage dropped to less than 20. During 1928-1929, 2,700,000 illiterate adults attended schools; this year provision has been made for 7,500,000. Illiteracy is expected to be almost wiped out by the end of the Five-Year Plan. It has already been wiped out among the trade-union membership of

about 12,000,000. The Red army is in remarkable contrast to the old Russian army, which showed a very large percentage of illiteracy.

The industrialization of the Soviet Union requires many tens of thousands of new engineers, hundreds of thousands of trained technicians and skilled workers. Facilities for higher and intermediate technical and vocational education have been considerably extended and are on the increase from year to year. A huge army of students is being educated and trained at government expense. As in almost every line of activity in the Soviet Union insufficiency of funds, compared to the enormous needs, serves as a temporary handicap, which, however, is gradually being overcome.

As experience has proved and as foreign engineers have observed, the Soviet worker adapts himself without much difficulty to new ways in industry. A number of workers are being sent abroad and trained there. Side by side with the city, the village simultaneously undergoes an intensive process of education and cultural transformation through the mechanization of agriculture. Superstition fostered for centuries is fast losing ground.

Old Russia, oppressing its nearly 200 national minorities, no longer exists. In its stead there is a union of seven constituent Soviet republics, subdivided into fifteen autonomous republics and fifteen autonomous areas, on the basis of national and cultural autonomy. Education, court procedure and administration are being carried on in the local languages. Books are being printed in the Union in fifty-seven languages. For every 100 books published in Russia in 1913 the number for 1928 is 240. It was still greater in 1929. Newspaper circulation increased almost fourfold.

Infant and general mortality has considerably decreased owing to better health service, improved sanitary conditions and a higher standard of living. The scientist is highly respected; new scientific institutions have sprung up and old institutions, such as the Acad-

emy of Sciences, have been made more responsive to the needs of the country in its present period of reconstruction. Art, especially in the theatrical field, flourishes. Museums have greatly increased in numbers and in resources and have become a very important means of mass education. To serve the people in the field of art a special department is functioning.

The undisputed stability and achievements of the Soviet Union would not have been possible without the devotion of the masses to the government and without their willingness to undergo sacrifices for the sake of the future. Naturally the kulak, the nepman and the remnants of the former ruling classes cannot be counted among the government's friends, but they constitute a comparatively small fraction of the population. The widely spread reports of the Russian counter-revolutionists to the effect that the Soviet Government maintains itself by force of arms or threats of massacres by the Cheka or the GPU are nonsense. The Soviet Government is more stable in its thirteenth year than at any other time since the revolution.

The Communist party membership at the present time is over 1,500,000. The Communist Youths number about 2,000,000. Trade union membership comprises about 12,000,000 men and women. These millions are the advance guard of the revolution.

The Soviet Union is spending for military purposes about half of what old Russia spent. The size of the army has been reduced to 562,000. The army is a far more effective machine than before the war. The composition of the army, including the officers, is predominantly worker and peasant, though there still are a number of old military experts. Progress of Soviet aviation has been marked and was evidenced by the very difficult flight of the Land of Soviets to the United States by way of the inhospitable North Pacific. Commercial aviation is rapidly developing, connecting most distant parts of the country.

Absorbed by the tremendous task of

industrializing and building such a huge country, and embarked upon the complete transformation of the village on the basis of collective and State farms, the government of the Soviet Union is deeply interested in the preservation of peace. The Union has offered to all other States its plans for complete or partial general disarmament, but the proposals have fallen on barren ground. These proposals go to the very root of the problem and perhaps for that reason do not find favor with the League of Nations. The dispute over the Chinese Eastern Railroad demonstrated the purpose of the Soviet Union to preserve peace under the most trying provocations. The Red Army

was forced into action when further abuse on the part of Chinese militarists became unbearable and when it became only too clear that the peacefulness of the Union was being mistaken for weakness and taken advantage of. The slightest proof of friendly attitude on the part of any government is warmly greeted and welcomed by the entire country.

The Soviet Union has chosen the path of socialism along which it is successfully proceeding toward its goal. Its desire in its thirteenth year of existence remains what it has been from the beginning—to live in peace and to cooperate with all other countries on the basis of friendly and normal relations.



THE KREMLIN

The Proposed Federation of European States

I

By COUNT CARLO SFORZA

FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER OF ITALY

ARISTIDE BRIAND'S plan for a "United States of Europe," first broached to the Tenth Assembly of the League in September, 1929, and submitted in more concrete form in May, 1930, is an attempt to find a solution for the complicated and paradoxical situation in which Europe finds herself as a result of the war. The Treaty of Versailles created intoxicating illusions, which, however, were short-lived. Slowly but surely the truth dawned on Europe that her economic life had changed radically and that she must adjust herself to new conditions.

Whereas in 1914 Europe had twenty-six customs barriers and thirteen monetary systems, there are today thirty-five customs barriers and twenty-seven monetary systems. The war, furthermore, created 6,000 kilometers of new boundary lines. And these changes have occurred in an age when concentration and rationalization of industry are becoming more and more essential to economic progress. A realization of these new necessities was first expressed in the final report of the International Economic Conference of 1927, which recognized the "deep changes which the report alludes to, changes which have come to pass in the economic situation of the world," and declared that "in the face of a new situation, new remedies are required."

The "deep changes" which the report alludes to, are manifest. They include the fact that Europe is no longer creditor of the world but America's debtor; the industrialization of the United States, which imports fewer and fewer European goods; the

end of the migratory flow, which formerly helped to restore a certain amount of balance between countries, and, finally (the most fatal result of the war), the mania for economic nationalism, entailing in each European country a waste of precious strength in the attempt to build up within its frontiers the greatest possible self-sufficiency, as if all countries were fortresses threatened with siege. All these facts came to light at a time when the foreign buyers of European goods were fast becoming scarcer. Gone, as a market, was the United States, hidden behind its increasingly prohibitive tariff. Gone was Russia, swallowed up by the atrocious misery of the revolution, Russia which, if it buys anything abroad, buys from America in the hope of learning efficiency of production from the United States. Gone is China, torn by civil war.

Yet the loss of these markets, however serious economically, will finally prove a boon if it helps Europe to realize that her main market is Europe herself. France is an outstanding example of this truth. In 1928 Belgium bought from France more than twice as much as the United States did; Switzerland quite as much as the United States; Germany and England each much more than double. Such facts must have influenced M. Briand in the development of the idea which he expounded first to the French Chamber and later to the League of Nations at Geneva.

It should be noted that M. Briand, in his carefully worded speech to the League Assembly on Sept. 5, 1929, did

not speak of a "United States of Europe"; he only suggested that the European States represented at the League create a *federal link* among themselves in order "to have at any moment the chance of coming into contact, of discussing our interests, of taking decisions in common, of building up among ourselves, a solidarity which would enable us to face serious circumstances should they come to pass."

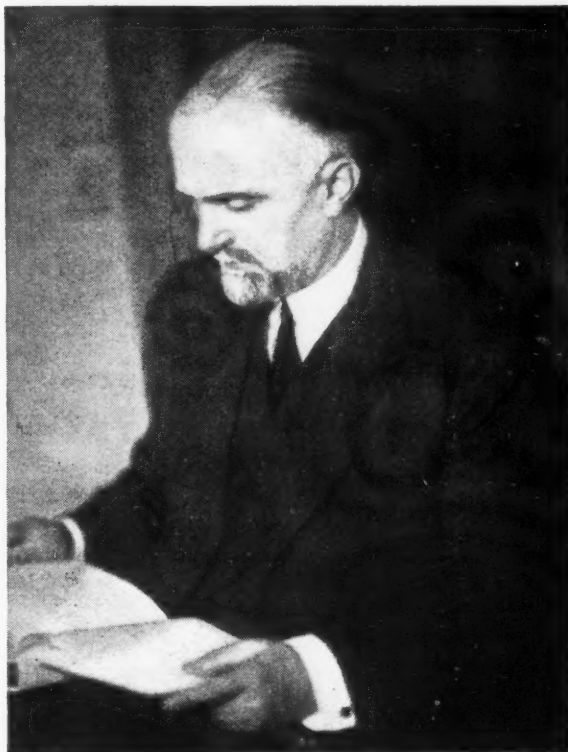
In reality, Briand did not want to serve French interests *exclusively*; but he did intend to serve *also* interests essentially French. That was his right and his duty. It is in this fusing of the interests of his own country with more general interests that the real statesman proves his superiority over the passing tricks of the diplomat. Briand never forgets the needs of France, but he is clever enough not to conceive of France as an entity distinct from and antithetic to the rest of the world.

There is no doubt that the differences which have poisoned European relations in the last ten years, such as reparations, minorities, artificial boundary lines and the question of Austro-German union would shed their dangers if they could be judged from the point of view of the common good. Europe will be led to unity because she will realize, more and more, that the ideas and feelings shared by all Europeans acquire in the presence of the non-European civilizations a greater value than the ideas which divide them. In spite of all the mistakes of the 1919 peace treaties, it is nevertheless true that Europe has made great progress. The divine-right monarchies have disappeared from Germany, Austria, Russia and Turkey; and today Europe is to all practical purposes, an agglomeration of democracies. The few exceptions are but the morbid remnant of post-war psycho-

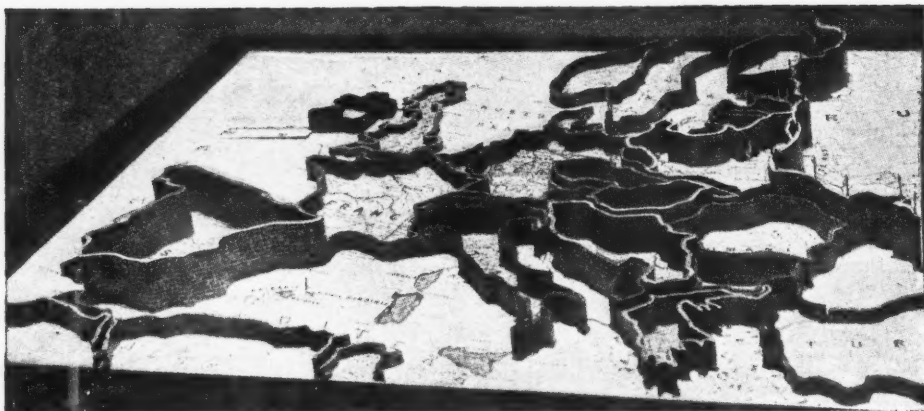
sis. Thus, a European union is conceivable today; whereas it would have been impossible with Hohenzollerns, Habsburgs and Romanovs.

Mazzini, the great Italian apostle of democracy, was truly prophetic when in a Europe wearied by the great effort of the French Revolution he declared, about 1830, that the days of the hideous Austrian compound were at an end and that we should witness the resurrection not only of Italy but also of Poland, Bohemia and the Yugoslav nation. Today the new States are the solid and lasting material out of which the new European edifice is to be built. With the other large but artificial and dynastic entities nothing could have been achieved but systems based on a European "balance of power"—the bloodiest and falsest of all the formulas of the old diplomacy.

History shows us two types of Euro-



COUNT CARLO SFORZA



Courtesy Carnegie Endowment for International Peace

EUROPEAN TARIFF WALLS

A birdseye view of the economic situation in post-war Europe, by Sir Clive Morrison-Bell

pean union of diverse nationalities. One was Austria-Hungary, with eight different nations and eight different languages, where the only link, the only aim, the only ideal, was service of the House of Habsburg, which ruled by the formula "Divide and Rule." We have seen the results of this policy—disaffection among the eight subject nations; the ultimatum to Serbia; the World War.

An example of the other type of union is Switzerland, where freedom is the sole link; where one nationality has never oppressed the other, in spite of the fact that almost two-thirds are German, only one-third French, and a still smaller fraction Italian. Here Germans and French live on an equal footing, without friction. Yet it is these races whose antagonisms are the greatest threat to the peace of Europe.

A United States of Europe is actually materializing in more than one field of activity. While politicians are discussing principles, industrial leaders are making agreements and working together with success. For example, Germans and Frenchmen, by agreements signed at Lugano and Paris in 1926, arranged to share potash markets and export deliveries to America. These agreements applied specifically to a total of 840,000 tons, 70 per cent

of which was reserved to the *Kalisyn-dicate*, 30 per cent to France, while anything over this the partners were to share equally. Again, in September, 1926, the iron and steel industries of Germany, France, Belgium and Luxemburg united to found an international cartel, in which allotment is made on the basis of a program of production every three months. Were the British heavy industry to join the group, European production would nearly equal that of the two great American steel trusts. At the end of 1927 the Franco-German agreement on chemicals was signed. It was reported that the *Farbenindustrie* was treating with the British chemical concerns about the production of azote. With azote, potash and phosphates under a common control, the whole of European agriculture could be ruled by a single supreme organization. One might also mention the incandescent lamp, wool, nickel and glue cartels, to quote only the more important.

Still another European link has been forged by the creation of the Bank for International Settlements. This new bank embodies the official recognition of a truth we had long suspected—that no national community can alone control its financial destinies.

The European reactions to the Briand suggestion were varied. Great Britain

took a naturally suspicious attitude. British public opinion is slow in evolution. But a country whose Prime Minister could go to Washington to seek peace on the high seas, in spite of the old British dogma of "Command of the Seas," will certainly end by acquiring a generous understanding of the needs of Europe. The French press was unanimous in expressing pride in the fact that the suggestions had emanated from France. But while the newspapers of the Left characterized the plan as a step in the right direction, those of the Right were skeptical, asserting that Europe was not yet ready for it.

The German reaction was summed up by one correspondent, on May 18, as "too much France," meaning that the project looked like a manoeuvre to secure French diplomatic hegemony, such as was tried immediately after the Versailles Treaty. The Nationalist organs were loudest in their denunciation, but the more liberal German papers admitted that some sort of economic union was inevitable and necessary.

The Soviet official organ, *Izvestia*, viewing the plan as a direct attack on the United States and the Soviet Union, said: "American capitalist aggressiveness on the one hand and Bolshevik revolutionary aggressiveness on the other have brought the leaders of Europe to the realization of the need for self-protection. * * * France takes the initiative in the general defense, not only to strengthen her own hegemony over Europe, but also because, as the chief gainer under the Treaty of Versailles, she has the most to lose by a disturbance of the European status quo."

The *Osservatore Romano*, spokesman for the Vatican, welcomed M. Briand's plan, saying, editorially on May 22, that "divided Europe gave us a World War; a federated Europe with God's blessing might give us world peace."

Opponents of a United States of Europe see as the greatest obstacle the antagonism between France and Germany. But there are two other objections which must be considered serious-

ly. One is the British objection. A number of British newspapers protested against Briand's plan because it conflicts with the traditional idea of a British Empire realizing equilibrium in itself and by itself alone. Thus the *London Times* commented editorially on May 18: "At a time when the loosening of legal and formal bonds between the self-governing parts of the empire has become complete the first task of British statesmen must be to secure the constant collaboration needed if it is to endure and prosper. They cannot engage in enterprises which, however laudable in themselves, might conflict with the main task and, as was so plainly shown during the naval negotiations, British opinion both here and in the dominions is firmly set against any entanglement in Europe which could commit any member of the empire to indefinite and unforeseen responsibilities." This was the doctrine expressed by Joseph Chamberlain when he told the British to weave "with the shreds still scattered an imperial cloak for the old Mother Country"; the conception which sets Great Britain up as a world Venice, with all the oceans as her canals.

There is also the American objection. Pessimistic souls fear that Europe will rise against the United States, with the result that antagonism between nations would be succeeded by a clash of continents. To dispel any such fear, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Washington assured Secretary of State Stimson, on behalf of M. Briand, that the proposal for European union was not aimed at the United States. American newspapers showed a friendly but academic interest, regarding realization of the plan as far in the future and European economic stability as advantageous to the United States. By some, however, the plan was seen as a consequence of America's high tariff policy, a point of view which was set forth by *The New York Times* in an editorial on May 19: "Nothing seems more probable than that the United States, if we pursue our policy of trade restriction and tariff discrimination, will find an

improvised and unorganized United States of Europe acting against us in matters of commerce by way both of reprisal and self-defense. That latent possibility is not hostility, but certainly it is a warning."

Wars may be brewed by conflicting economic interests; but they only break out when old hereditary passions are brought into play. This could not happen between continents, which have only different interests. Are American interests opposed to some form of European union? It would do wrong to thinking and far-seeing Americans seriously to suppose so. America knows that she has everything to gain from peace and that he who works for European union works for world peace. Europe is the Balkans of the continents.

It is from modern Europe, from her frontiers and her armaments, from her foolish old policy of "balance of power" and her economic water-tight compartments that a new explosion may come. No one would suffer more from such an explosion than America. The fact that America would lose the most important of her economic outlets would be the smallest of her losses. The Atlantic Ocean, no longer a barrier between the two continents, is rapidly assuming the part of a common lake linking the nations whose shores it washes. America's interest lies in peace and prosperity along the shores of this lake. But European peace and prosperity depend on one condition only—that some form of union come to pass.

II

By JOHN B. WHITTON

DIRECTOR OF THE SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

SUMMONING EUROPE to "unite to live and prosper," M. Briand, French Minister of Foreign Affairs, has submitted his long-awaited memorandum to the consideration of twenty-six European member States of the League of Nations. His conception for a united Europe was made public on May 17 by the Quai d'Orsay, which supports the plan, and an official copy of the text was delivered to our State Department on May 22.

This plan, like the *Grand Dessein* of another Frenchman, Sully, is a stupendous and daring conception for international union. Even if Great Britain remains out of its operation, which seems probable, the project concerns the destiny of 250,000,000 people. Because of its comprehensive scope, its relation to important current events and the hope it offers to a troubled and divided Europe, the plan is of no ordinary importance. Its scope is remarkable. M. Briand makes more than a mere pro-

posal; he actually specifies the organization which shall form the basis of his European union. While leaving ample space for natural growth, he sketches a constitution and plans a European conference, an executive committee, a secretariat and technical organs, all working in close cooperation with the League of Nations. He also enumerates the questions to be studied and problems to be met. Finally, to the surprise of all, he considers that the political implications of the project far outweigh in importance the economic considerations.

An extremely significant moment was chosen for releasing the plan. While the eminent French statesman was making public his project, which looks to the future, a most important step was being taken toward liquidating the past. The Reparations Commission ceased to exist; the troublesome reparations question, escaping from the hands of governments, was assuming a non-political, commercial status

through the Bank for International Settlements. French troops, the last of the occupying forces, were preparing to leave the Rhine. The disappointments of the London naval conference had emphasized in a striking fashion the urgent need for European understanding. Finally, the possible disastrous effects of the pending American tariff bill had aroused European peoples to a new faith in an old saying, "In union there is strength." "Times," says M. Briand, "have never been more propitious nor more pressing for the starting of constructive work of this kind."

It should be noted that the project itself is couched in general terms; the details are reserved to the European conference, or permanent organization which will be set up in order to launch the new confederation. M. Briand has tried to avoid two extremes; his project is neither rigid nor visionary. In other words, he offers what he believes to be a practicable plan, but leaves ample room for natural development. It is a "federation built not upon the idea of unity but of union." The federation should evolve "from the simple to the

complex," establishing "the first means of contact of what is intended to be a solid basis of cooperation with a view to the settlement in common of all problems bearing on the organization of European peace and the national organization of the vital forces of Europe."

Political cooperation, according to M. Briand, must precede economic action. Progress in the economic field depends upon security. "It is therefore on the political field that the best efforts of organizers to create for Europe an organic structure must be concentrated." Thus he believes that understanding and conciliation are necessary before the "embryo of a Federal organization" can be created. Absolutely essential is "the general development by Europe of a system of arbitration and security and the progressive extension to the whole European community of the policy of international guarantees inaugurated at Locarno." Just as at London recently, here again we see revealed the classic French stand on security and the insistence upon the trinity—arbitration, security and disarmament—



—The Daily Express, London

DULL DAYS

A British view of the Briand proposal

which formed the basis of the Geneva protocol, the *conception grandiose* of 1924.

Close cooperation with the League of Nations is envisaged. "The European association cannot substitute itself for the League of Nations." The new union is in accord with the covenant itself; it is nothing but a "regional entente within the terms of Article XXI of the covenant of the League and itself within the League of Nations." In other words, we shall have a European league within the present World League; it will be "within the framework of the League, its meetings should be held at Geneva, where its regular sessions should coincide with those of the Council of the League." Finally, membership in the union is reserved for League member States, and the secretariat is to employ the special services of the secretariat of the League of Nations.

Let us turn now to the organization of the union. This will consist of (1) a "European conference," (2) an "executive organ," (3) a secretariat and (4) technical committees. The "European Conference," composed of the representatives of all European governments, members of the League of Nations, will be the directive organ. Its president will be elected annually by rotation. Apparently this body will have somewhat the same rôle as the Assembly of the League of Nations. The "executive organ" will take the form of a smaller committee, akin to the Council of the League. It will be the union's "organ of study and at the same time its instrument of action." Upon this committee will lie the main responsibility for developing the new European union and for attacking the problems which require attention. Provision is also made for a secretariat and special technical committees.

Having reviewed the general nature of the union and briefly sketched its organization, let us now consider its proposed activities. In general, the federation is expected to "constitute a living bond of solidarity among European nations." This purpose, as we have seen, is to be achieved above all in the

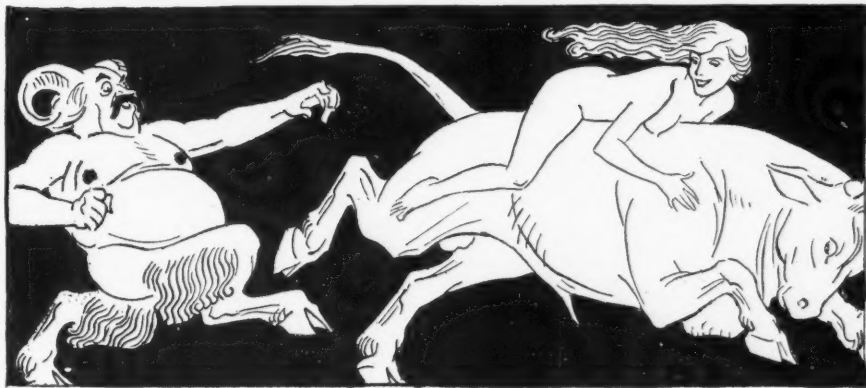
political field; this is a prerequisite even to a solution of tariff problems. Despite this observation, most of the activities of the union concern non-political matters—economic, financial and labor problems, hygiene, communications and transit, intellectual cooperation, interparliamentary relations and administration. Only a few of these may be mentioned here.

Economic cooperation of vital importance is urged. One essential purpose is the "rapprochement between the various European economic systems." But the plan is not content with generalities; a "truly liberal tariff policy" is specifically advocated. In fact the next European conference must study "the control of policies of industrial unions and cartels" and the "future possibilities regarding the *progressive lowering of tariffs*." The dream of economic cooperation goes even further: "The ideal would be the *creation of a common market*, raising to a maximum the level of human well-being within the boundaries of Europe." Pointing to an ideal even higher, the project hopes for the "rational organization of a European system of production and exchange, by means of the gradual liberation and methodical simplification of the circulation of goods, capital and persons." At the same time, the needs of each State for its national defense must be taken into account. Furthermore, the States members could cooperate in the carrying on of great public works, and in bettering the means of inter-communication. No cooperation in the economic field would be complete without financial measures; hence the proposal for the encouragement of credit destined for economic development of those States which need it. Finally, the plan enumerates certain pressing labor questions which are particularly susceptible for solution through cooperative action. There are other interesting proposals, but these cannot be given detailed examination here.

What are the principal motives behind this project? Some see therein merely an attempt to meet Russian

expansion from the east, or a desire to counter American competition from the west. A third motive, and by far the most important, is the hope of ameliorating competitive conditions, which, existing between European nations themselves, constitute a formidable obstacle to their individual and collective prosperity. Even if America and Russia were entirely left out of the picture, the creation of a European union would be most opportune. Numerous tariff walls, erected especially since the war, separate Europe into small competing communities, thus creating a situation which, if not intolerable, is at least disastrous. A number of European States are suffering from economic and financial depression caused in large part by ruinous competition. Economic and political selfishness accentuate racial and nationalistic animosities, rendering impossible a real state of peace. Furthermore, Europe still suf-

fers from dangerous disputes and problems, which, being peculiarly European in nature, may best be settled through the operation of a regional pact. To create such a pact was the aim of M. Briand. And, as already noted, the recent liquidation of certain questions, unusually troublesome, makes the present movement particularly timely. Therefore, while a natural desire to meet pressure from the United States through methods there found so successful, and an understandable fear of potential competition from Russia, may have had some influence upon the launching of the project, nevertheless the main motive was the will to hasten, within Europe's own gates, the era of mutual co-operation which, in the evolution of international society generally, and of the European community in particular, is certainly inevitable and may even now be practicable.



PAN-EUROPA

—Kladderadatsch, Berlin

Aristocracy Still the Ruling Class In England

By HAROLD J. LASKI

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF LONDON

ANY ONE WHO reflects upon the opposition a hundred years ago to the reform of the franchise in England can hardly avoid a sense of astonishment at the spectacle it presents at the present time. Without conflict, even without bitterness, universal suffrage has been attained; the Labor party is the largest group in the House of Commons, and a government the majority of which is composed of men of working-class origin is enthroned without any sense of unfitness in the seat of power. The Englishman may be pardoned who concludes that he is more fortunate than other peoples. He has achieved, he considers, a constitutional revolution without violence and by consent. He has established democratic government without any of the painful birth-pangs characteristic of Continental people. Once more he has vindicated his claim to the possession of a political genius denied to other peoples.

Such self-congratulation is not unintelligible, but it is also perhaps a little facile in character. That Great Britain has become a political democracy in the narrow sense of the word, it is impossible to deny; all adult citizens vote and no barrier stands in the way of any workingman becoming Prime Minister of England. But political democracy, after all, is not the same thing as social democracy. Before one concludes that the citadel of privilege has been taken, one has to scrutinize a little more narrowly the concessions which have actually been made. From that angle, I suggest, the victory is both less obvious and less spectacular than its more dramatic aspects would seem to warrant. The peculiar features of the

English system, which made Bagehot insist on the genius of the Englishman for what euphemistically he termed reverence, do not seem in any marked degree to have undergone profound alteration.

This conclusion may be tested in a variety of ways. It is true that the Labor party is the largest in the House of Commons and that within it trade union officials are the largest element. But it is also true that every member of the aristocracy who belongs to the party is also a member of the government; and that, broadly speaking, no class of members in the party has been more rapidly rewarded for their affiliation to it. No workingman has been elevated to the House of Lords; the peers whom Mr. MacDonald has created are without exception exactly the type whom Mr. Baldwin might have been expected to create. Only one workingman, despite a number of vacancies, has been made a Colonial Governor, and no notable Socialist clergyman has been elevated to the episcopal bench. Any one, moreover, who compares middle-class and working-class candidates for Parliament within the Labor party itself will notice that the former are invariably, on the average, of the younger generation. They have, broadly speaking, a differential advantage of ten years. The importance of this lies in the fact that, as the Liberal party diminishes in size and the Labor party becomes the natural residence of the radical-minded aristocrat, the latter will have the same differential advantage in the Labor party that he has had in the past in the older organizations. Unless great social and economic changes occur in

Great Britain, we may well have in a generation a working-class party in a large degree officered by aristocrats and intellectuals.

That is remarkable enough, but even more striking is the position of the Conservative party. At a time of universal suffrage Mr. Baldwin has not a single working-class Tory in the House of Commons; the handful of Tory working-class candidates who ran at the last general election were given seats which it was by definition impossible for them to win. Nor is that all. Mr. Baldwin's last Cabinet was more aristocratic in complexion than any which has been formed in the present century; and there is no Tory workingman in sight who could, even conceivably, be given a minor place in any subsequent Conservative administration. Every Governor General of a dominion, every Governor of a colony, is, with a single exception, a representative of the classes from which those officers are normally taken. There is no decline in the number of the sons of Tory peers who enter the House of Commons; and they remain, as in the past, that section of the House which finds the safest seats in their party at the earliest age. The democratic revolution in the franchise, in a word, has not produced the slightest change either in the complexion of the Tory party or in the claim of the aristocracy to the major portion of its offices when it is in power.

The real seat of governmental authority in Great Britain is, of course, the permanent civil service. Broadly, this is a middle-class institution; and since there is in England no spoils-system, it remains generally unchanged by a change of government. Anyone, however, who analyzes its composition will be struck, I think, by two things. Practically all the heads of departments are drawn from the classes who can afford to send their sons to a public school like Eton or Winchester, and then to Oxford or Cambridge; their tradition, in short, is essentially that of the historic governing class. In the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Ser-

vice, in the second place, this position is even more remarkable. In the last five years (1923-8) 31 candidates have been appointed to posts; of these all except 2 were at the usual public schools, and all except 2 were either at Oxford or Cambridge. If we extend this analysis back to 1851, over 45 per cent of the personnel of the Foreign Office and the Diplomatic Service went to Eton or Harrow, and over 90 per cent went either to Oxford or Cambridge. This is an amazing concentration of personnel within the limits of a few thousand out of 8,000,000 British families; nor is there evidence of any recent tendency to change. Yet any one who compares analogous experience in political democracies like France or the United States will be tempted to doubt whether natural administrative ability is, in fact, confined within so narrow an area.

With the judicial bench the situation is naturally a little less striking; for the bar, like the Church, has always had a democratic leaven. Yet it is worth noting that there is no son of working-class parents on the bench, for the simple reason that no workingman can afford the fees necessary to make his son a barrister or support him during the lean and difficult years while he is building up a practice. Professor Ginsburg, indeed, in a notable study has shown how largely the bar is in England a hereditary profession so far as its upper reaches are concerned; and for the young man without connections the way to the bench, as I have elsewhere shown, lies through legal office and the House of Commons. The judiciary, in fact, like the naval service, represents essentially the upper middle class; and its members come almost exclusively from Oxford and Cambridge. This has, as both Mr. Winston Churchill and the late Professor Geldent have pointed out, a real importance where decisions in industrial cases are concerned; and it cannot be said, as Mr. Churchill has insisted, that the courts in this realm possess the confidence of the working class. So far as the minor

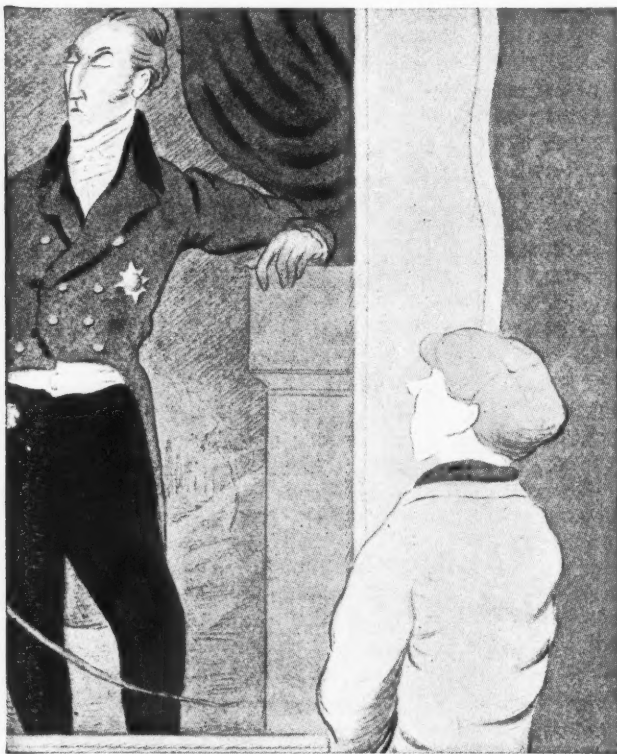
judiciary is concerned—the unpaid justices of the peace who are usually appointed for local political service—the figures alone explain the position. Out of some 10,000 magistrates in England about 800 belong to the Labor party. Since they are appointed on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant of the county (invariably a Conservative), who in turn is assisted by a selection committee on which all parties sit, it is unlikely that this balance will be redressed over any considerable period.

Let me summarise briefly the political aspect of the position. In a Labor Government the working class will have about half the government posts. None of its members will be in the House of Lords; none will be appointed to posts of importance abroad. They

will have no part in a Conservative Government or even in its ranks within the House. Effectively they play no part in the civil service, none in the foreign service, none in the judiciary. They have a small part in the local magistracy, but the predominance of their opponents is so overwhelming that even equality is decades away. I may perhaps add that even under a Labor Government no royal commission or departmental inquiry of any kind has been appointed upon which people with Labor views have been in a majority. Under Conservative Governments, they have been given two or three places; but in so vital a commission as that on coal in 1925, there was no person of Labor views.

I turn from the political to the economic situation. The position here is

a complex one, and it requires careful analysis before it can be disentangled. There has been a real growth in the moral stature of trade unionism. It is far more aware of the sweep of the problems it has to solve; it is less anxious merely to concern itself with questions of wages and hours; it has come to see that no great commercial decision can be taken which does not profoundly influence its authority; it is also more careful in the choice of its officials, more anxious to embark upon conflict only as the ultimate phase of its relationship with capital. The statesmanship shown by its leaders in what are known as the Mond-Turner conferences, the quality of the contributions it has made to the discussion, all these are beyond dispute. Certainly



From *Observations*, Heinemann, 1926

"CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS"

"Now, that's the sort of class consciousness I'd like to have!" A cartoon by Max Beerbohm

no government could today afford to embark upon important industrial legislation without taking serious account of the public opinion of the trade unions.

It is, however, one thing to recognize the growth in trade union quality; it is another thing to argue that it has attained any of its declared post-war objectives. In the critical situation of British industry since 1920 it cannot be said that it has played any signal part in the effort at reconstruction. It has had plans, theories, ideals, many of them sober and excellent; but it has had no authoritative share in the reshaping of conditions. Decisions like those upon the restoration of the gold standard have been taken without regard to its outlook. In cotton, in wool, in coal, in iron and steel, it has been able to force inquiry and lay its plans before a number of commissions; but no inquiry has ever adopted the proposals it has put forward. No single industry has been reshaped toward nationalization since 1920; and so far as public control is concerned, the tendency is all in the opposite direction. The period, moreover, has seen in the trades disputes act of 1927 the first legislation in a hundred years deliberately intended to limit the power of the trade unions. The Whitley Council movement, of which so much was once hoped, has failed. Movements toward copartnership and profit-sharing remain stagnant and sterile. Guild socialist experiments are all dead and futile memories. The most that can be said is that in a period of industrial crisis trade unionism has broadly maintained its ground. But it has not shown any signs of being able to win the battle for industrial democracy. Universal suffrage does not yet suggest any obviously coming change in the technique of industrial direction.

It is easy to see that this is the case. Industrial direction in England today centres round the money-power of the banks and particularly of the Bank of England. Trade unionism has no impact there. Their directors are much the same people, with much the same

outlook, as those who ruled them before the war. It is the same in the railways and the same in the insurance world. Peers tend more frequently than in the past to become business men; and rich business men tend more frequently to become peers. Otherwise the personnel of British industrial leadership is drawn from the classes that directed it before the war. Important figures like Lord Inchcape may arise from the ranks; but they form new dynasties upon the ancient pattern. There is only one trade union leader of any importance who has become a significant person in industry. A glance at the directors of the Bank of England reveals names there famous in the City for three-quarters of a century. The joint stock banks reveal a small, technical core of self-made men; but the mass of their directors are the old-type county families and aristocrats. On one of the best-known British railways eleven directors out of fifteen are Eton men. Nearly five hundred City directorships belong to members of the House of Lords. The public may contribute the capital for the development of a great company like Imperial Chemical Industries, but its control is in the hands of Lord Melchett with colleagues like Lord Reading and Lord Birkenhead.

Two symptoms of the fact that the balance of essential control remains unchanged are worth while noting. The Bank of England is about to take a hand in the process of rationalisation through the newly formed Securities Management Trust. Its power for good or ill, with the prestige of the Bank behind it, will clearly be enormous. But its proposals will be given effect without any regard to the views of labor. And, even more important, Mr. Thomas, the Labor Minister for Employment, himself perhaps the outstanding trade union leader, has blessed its effort. His career in office has been directed above all to winning the favor of the City for schemes which, however admirable, have no end so clearly in view as the revivification of an obsolete capitalist structure. Labor proposals on the mines



From *Caricature of Today*, A. & C. Boni, 1923

"ENGLISH CIVILIZATION"

A cartoon by Bruno Paul in *Simplicissimus*

yield something to the trade unions on the hours of work; but the essential feature of its scheme is the classic method of capitalist amalgamation. In export credits, in schemes of internal development, even in the new bill for grappling with the problem of the slums, the underlying principle is what may be termed a controlled individualism rather than socialism. And it is well known that Mr. Snowden's budget is a wholly admirable application of the complete canon of Gladstonian finance.

The conclusion toward which I am here driving may be put in this way: The accession of Labor to power, so far as commerce and industry are concerned, is not likely for any considerable period to result in an attempt to apply Socialist principle. Taxation will be a little heavier; social legislation will be somewhat more generous; for-

eign policy clearly will be infinitely more intelligent and creative. There will be better factory acts, less hours of labor, more attention generally to the humanization of industrial and social conditions. But there is no reason to suppose that even a considerable amount of legislation upon these lines will have as its effect any movement toward a social, as distinct from a political, democracy.

The reason is obvious enough. In any large way the present technique will leave unaltered the ultimate disposition of economic power. It will not touch in any large way the hold of the upper middle class upon industrial direction. The amazing nepotism characteristic of English business life will remain unaltered. The functionless property owner will pay a little more, but not so much more as greatly to alter the final

perspective of the life to which he is accustomed. The son of the owner of a moderate property will have to work. But he will largely retain the advantages in life which come from a better education and the parental industrial connections. The great sources of economic authority, the banks, the insurance companies, railways and shipping, seem likely to remain for a long period in the hands of the makers of private profit. And, as always, the class at the top of the industrial pyramid will intermarry with and thus re-endow the old aristocracy. The prestige of the latter in the social world at least remains. It is able to maintain itself at the apex of social organization by judicious concession and careful intermarriage. From this general angle the broad result of political democracy in England would seem to be less a change

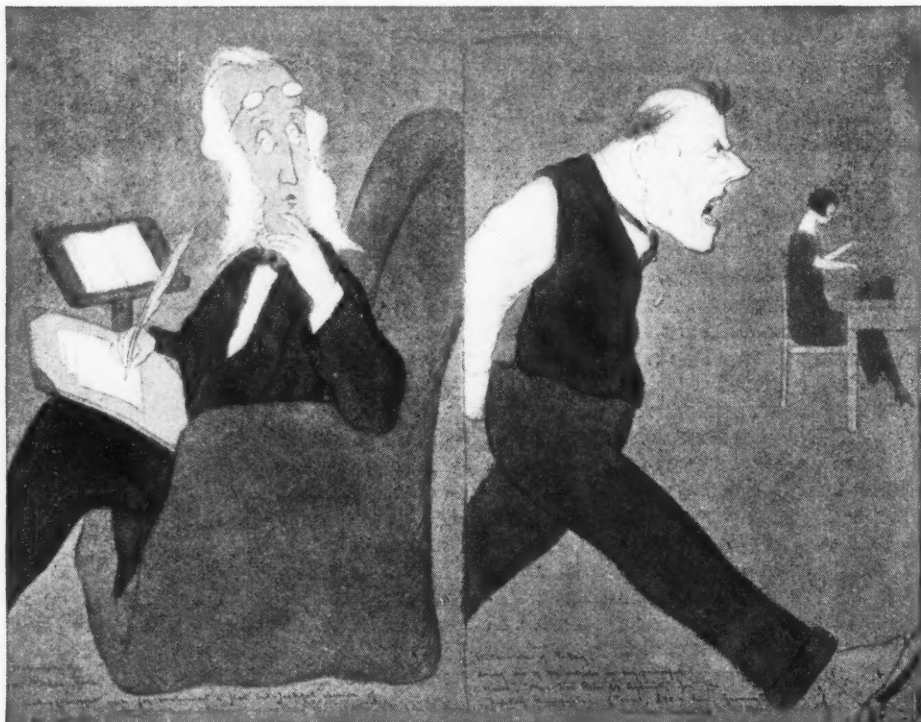
in the essential contours of its life than an admission that the number of those who are to share in its benefits is to be somewhat larger than in the past. Twentieth century England will pay a little more heavily to maintain the characteristic structure of Victorian England. But as yet there is no special evidence to suggest that the characteristic structure has been undermined.

For the real clue to the nature of the English State still remains what it was in Victorian times. The aristocracy has surrendered external privilege and retained, even intensified, its social prestige; while the monarchy, deprived of all active power, retains an impalpable influence which it is dangerous to minimize. Rank does not secure an Englishman a position of authority; but rank, even connection with rank, gives access to that position without payment of the price incumbent upon other men. There still surrounds the aristocracy the indefinable power of social consideration. Their values are still those which mainly impress the multitude. Recognition by them still seems to the outsider the proof that he has arrived. To be introduced under its auspices is still the high road to distinction. Its pervasiveness remains remarkable; its prehensile capacity has the impressiveness of genius. It can attach to itself great business men like Lord Melchett, great lawyers like Lord Sumner, even great men of letters like Bernard Shaw. Its patronage, in fact, is still of decisive importance. As I write there is vacant the chancellorship of a great northern university; and for its occupancy one hears canvassed the names of three peers not one of whom, rank apart, has any intellectual title to consideration. A royal birth, a great social marriage, loom just as important in the public eye as in the past; and it is hardly a year since the coming of age of the Duke of Norfolk was celebrated in the premier newspaper of England with the dignity of a leading article. The aristocracy has imposed its ideal of the leisured gentleman so completely upon the Eng-

lish mind that there is no class devoid of willingness to pay it its proper meed of worship.

In this situation two things are important. The rise of the Labor party to office is the rise of a party which seeks social justice but is hostile to revolution. It seeks, therefore, a fundamental change within the framework of the present system and upon the basis of a general consent to its operations. What so far has been noteworthy in its development has been its growth *pari passu* with the decline of the Liberal party. Many of its leading members were at one time Liberals; and most of its recent accessions are converts from that party. No one can deny the dramatic character of its growth; it is hardly twenty years since President Lowell of Harvard predicted that its inevitable future was to remain a mere wing of the Liberal party. But no one either can deny that its rise to power has synchronized with a blurring of the sharp outlines of its creed. Any one who compares its program of 1918 with the measures for which as a government it has made itself responsible can hardly fail to recognize that it has become with the responsibilities of office less a Socialist party than one of social reform. It goes far to the left of what a Liberalism like that of the Asquith Government would have been prepared to attempt; but it does not attempt measures to which that government would in basic principle have objected.

To some extent doubtless this is due to the fact that so far Labor has not yet had a majority. But any one who analyzes the position can hardly fail, I think, to realize that the certainty of an extraordinary gradualness in the position is inherent in its character. Finance apart, any attempt at drastic change by the Labor party would involve opposition from the House of Lords. To defeat that opposition means either waiting for two years to use the Parliament act or alternatively a general election with an unpredictable result. If drastic change were attempted by means of financial legislation, there would be bitter opposition from the

From *Observations*, Heinemann, 1926

PARERGA OF STATESMANSHIP

Statesman of the Olden Time, making without wish for emolument a flat but faithful version of the Georgics, in English hexameters

Statesman of Today, doing one of the articles in his powerful series, "Men I've Been Up Against," for *The Saturday Rumpus*. (Terms, £75 a line. Grammar and style touched up in the office.) Cartoon by Max Beerbohm

City, with a consequent impairment of the structure of British credit abroad. The pledge, indeed, of Mr. Snowden not, save in unforeseen circumstances, to impose new taxation during his present term of office makes it unlikely that such drastic change will for the present be attempted. And the more fully Labor continues to absorb Liberal elements, the more difficult it will be to alter the character of the English State within the lifetime of the present generation. That difficulty, moreover, is enhanced by a parliamentary machine that cannot deal with an ample program of reform in any rapid or wholesale way.

It seems obvious, therefore, that the revolution which Labor seeks to accomplish is dependent upon the effective consent it can secure for its measures.

It can only alter the essence of the English State as there is agreement to effect that alteration with those who at present determine its character. The latter, in fact, are being invited to a gradual abdication of the privileges they at present enjoy. They are being asked to agree that legislation shall equalize advantages which are at the moment the guarantee of their security. They are being asked to effect peacefully the kind of surrender which we associate with 1789 in France and 1917 in Russia. In a sense the great event of the nineteenth century in England was that revolt against feudalism that did not occur. In the twentieth century those who benefited by its failure to develop are being asked, first, to assume that it should have happened and,

second, to put into operation the results that would have occurred had 1832 been upon the model of 1789.

It is an unparalleled situation. The English governing class, if the Labor party's ideal is to be fulfilled, must make of its own volition a greater sacrifice than it has ever known. On the one hand is the fact that no class in history has ever previously, at least voluntarily, made such a sacrifice; on the other, is the undoubted fact that no governing class has ever had the same genius for making necessary sacrifices at the right moment as the British aristocracy. It is, I believe, unthinkable that the conferring of political power upon the democracy should not be accompanied, especially in an epoch of educational advance and rapid scientific change, with a demand for the equalization of social and economic privilege. At the same time it is necessary to remember two things. The only durable source of faction, as Madison said, is property; and it is about property that the debate is coming more and more to centre. In the nineteenth century, in the second place, the English government class held a position of such differential economic advantage that it was able to make large concessions without serious danger to its internal pre-eminence. That is no longer true, and every economic sacrifice of British capital is relatively more considerable in loss of authority than at any previous period.

My business here is analysis and not prophecy; I desire, therefore, only to emphasize what is outstanding in the British situation. "Our alternating Cabinets," wrote Lord Balfour, "have never differed about the foundations of society. And it is evident that our whole political machinery presupposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can safely afford to differ." Those weighty words are the clue to the present position; certainly they underlie what has happened in English politics in the post-war epoch. Their assump-

tion has been that the basis of the national life is not to be violently disturbed and that the changes introduced by one party will be accepted as on the whole reasonable by the other. But the Conservative party certainly does not accept the presuppositions upon which the the Labor party is founded. It represents a class which possesses advantages, social, political, economic, which no other class in the modern world possesses. It has on its side the whole weight of national tradition, the prestige and self-confidence which tradition confers, the strength of economic power, the subtle social glamour which antiquity can always bring. In office it need make no essential compromises; out of office it is able to interpenetrate and therefore to influence the ranks of its opponents. The House of Lords is a buttress of its authority; the City speaks with its voice; in the public schools and the universities it possesses the training ground of the official classes. Those who rise to eminence in the Labor party must live a political life the social features of which it largely defines. It has only vehemently to disagree with concessions to which it is invited for the consequences of a difference about the "presuppositions" of which Lord Balfour wrote to come nakedly into view.

It is not, I think, in these circumstances an unfair conclusion that so far at least the accession of the Labor party to power cannot be regarded as a decisive challenge to the framework of traditional England; 1924 and 1929 are, like 1832, one more instance of the superb absorptive capacity of the English aristocracy. They still guide the middle class. They still dominate the mentality of the judiciary and the civil service. Membership of their class is still the supreme ambition of the business man. They may, I suggest, be pardoned if they feel that in surrendering the shadow of political power they still retain its effective substance.

Mixing Religion and Politics

By MARK MOHLER

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, SKIDMORE COLLEGE

THE THUNDERINGS against "dragging the Church into politics," which were heard during the 1928 presidential campaign, are reverberating today in the attacks on the lobbying of certain Church organizations. This opposition is widespread; it is heard in the halls of Congress and State Legislatures and is debated in the nation's press. "It is not proper for a Church in this country to attempt to establish its moral judgments as a statutory law," asserts a leading editor, while another no less influential declares that "there are still many Americans to whom the commingling of Church and State is distasteful, and it is hard to imagine any lobby more worthy of investigation than one which presumes to regulate the moral conduct of the individual." These sentiments find definite expression in a bill introduced in the Texas Legislature, proposing the exclusion of clergymen of all faiths from high State office.

The declaration that "a Church has no business in politics" seems like a fundamental American constitutional doctrine; and even the Churches have insisted on it as a cardinal principle. Yet the accused organizations not only confess their actions in connection with legislation, but boast of the results.

Most of the American colonies had legally established Churches—Puritan in New England, Anglican elsewhere. Protestant Christians were the politically dominant elements in all the provinces, as in the mother country, so that, not only did they bring with them the common law, which embodies the moral standards of Romano-Anglican Christianity, but also in enacting new laws they incorporated their own peculiar conceptions of right and wrong—the "blue laws." Thus, the observance of the first-day as sabbath was to be

enforced with severe restrictions upon personal activities; marriage was to be monogamous with very limited permission for divorce; gambling and other forms of amusement were prohibited; and so on. Hence the assertion that "no Church should attempt to establish its moral judgments as statutory law," is tantamount to declaring that our whole legal system is built up on the wrong foundation. To remove from our public law all principles of Christian ethics would be very much like pulling the woof from a closely-woven fabric, leaving it flimsy shreds.

This fact is essential to an understanding of the progress of disestablishment, for when that movement began it was confined to the theological aspect of the case. There was at that time general agreement on the standards of public and private morality, at least in theory, though obedience was by no means universal. Jews and seventh-day Christians objected to the Sunday laws, but being a small minority their protest did not carry weight. On the other hand, the Protestant clergy preached on the accepted ethical principles of the time without calling forth denunciations from the contemporary Congressmen for dragging politics into the pulpits. In fact, it was generally understood to be the duty of the Churches to teach law observance and enforcement.

There came, in time, changes in the popular conceptions of personal and public morality. The increase in the number of the non-Church citizens, of foreign-born Catholics favoring a "continental sabbath" strengthened the opposition, not to the first-day as the proper holy day, but to the manner of its observance.

That the conservative elements in the Protestant Churches have fought a steadily losing battle for the mainte-

nance of the old restricted Sunday is evident to every one. Even Massachusetts has recently further opened the day for pleasure, though similar efforts in Pennsylvania and New Jersey have so far failed. Likewise, theatre-going, card-playing and dancing have become conceded respectable as well as legal; while divorce has become so widespread and the grounds for granting it have become so numerous that the conservative elements in the Churches are seeking ways to put new legal checks upon the tendency.

These changes resulted, not so much from a disposition to disestablish Christian morality, as from the modification of the prevailing conceptions of morality, for many Church members also approved these new standards. Moreover, this struggle has been so clearly a battle between ethical principles and its legislative aspect so secondary that there has been no great outcry about mixing religion and politics. Nevertheless, the fact remains that what were once considered purely moral questions have become the football of party or factional strife.

The case differs when the new standards call for greater restriction. Then, what has been considered merely a political or even a strictly personal matter assumes for the reformer a moral concern, vital to temporal and eternal well-being, like sabbath observance and monogamy in the older system. As sentiment on these subjects reaches the stage where the opposition to the earlier conceptions becomes numerically strong and vocally effective, the question of what the law shall be produces a mixture of religion and politics which appears unwarranted to the conservatives. To illustrate: at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ecclesiastical forces in the United States, with minor exceptions, offered no objection to slavery *per se*. As late as 1836 the Methodist General Conference, then representing the entire nation, disciplined two of its preachers for speaking on "modern abolitionism," and declared it had no purpose to interfere with the legal relation between

master and slave. But the movement for freedom grew, rending Churches, political parties, and finally the nation itself. During that titanic legislative struggle, the same cry against preachers mixing in matters outside their proper sphere was heard. In reply, the agencies involved defended their course on the basis of a distinction between ethics and theology. A Universalist convention in 1857 disclaimed "party politics," but insisted that "intemperance, slavery and war" were moral evils and therefore legitimate sermon topics, adding: "And we regret the unfounded suspicions and jealousies entertained by some, that preachers are, by so doing [that is, speaking of them], discussing politics in the pulpits." Now that the moral principle has been accepted as public law, clergymen are expected to advocate liberty of person for even the humblest human beings of whatever color.

Prohibition is now in the struggle stage. The constituencies of all the sects are divided. What the majority sentiment is would be hard to determine; but the Dry forces are in the saddle, and the Wets have taken the attitude of the abolitionists after the passage of the 1850 compromise. Unlike, however, the pro-slavery interests of 1860, the present-day "antis" are not concentrated in any one geographical section, so that secession seems impracticable. In time prohibition may become so generally accepted that, like the anti-slavery principle today, it will be looked upon as the only position for the preachers of true religion—or developments may take the opposite direction.

During the American Revolution the Churches in the Colonies divided between obedience to "those who have the rule," according to the Bible injunction, and support of the insurgents. Not only was there no objection to the Churches of the time engaged in politics, but as the conflict continued, the neutrals were forced to take at least one side in order to be protected against the other. Now we glorify those early rebels, while expecting the

preachers to denounce rebellion and to teach submission to the new order, already grown old with its one hundred and fifty years of existence. At least, before prohibition that was the universal attitude of those who wished to be thought respectable citizens. The Dry clergy, therefore, find one line of tradition to support their plea for observance and enforcement; while their Wet professional confrères who openly defy the liquor laws in act and word appeal to the eighteenth century fathers, who overthrew the established power on the ground that it was illegal because it interfered with their liberties.

As to what the future will bring—enforcement or revolution—our national experience shows the possibility of either; but in the light of history there is nothing new in the charges, "dragging politics into the pulpits," or "religion into politics." The preachers of the nation have always engaged in politics whenever they have believed that an ethical principle was at stake. Nor is there any distinction between the denominations in this respect.

While the Catholic Church, like the others, claims to keep aloof from politics, it also insists, like the others, that it is the final authority on matters of morality. Those two propositions never were entirely compatible, because statutory law necessarily incorporates some standard of morality, and the connection becomes even more inescapable when, as in our day, personal morality has become so intimately influenced by social environment. In fact, this truth is the declared basis for the policy of the Catholic Church.

Though there is no agency in the United States which speaks for the Catholic sect, as for instance the General Conference speaks for the Methodists, yet certain organizations made up of its communicants and guided by its priests are active in social and political affairs. The New York branch of the Catholic Central Verein of America resolved that "we are unalterably opposed to the so-called national origins clause of the new immigration

law"; the New York section of the Catholic Women's Union urged repeal of the Volstead act; and the National Catholic Welfare Conference is charged by United States Senator Heflin with direct lobbying. For evidence, he quotes from that body's own records that "the executive department [of the conference] has to treat directly with the United States Government and its numerous departments on matters that affect Catholic interests." Moreover, it is well known that the Catholic hierarchy in this country opposes, also, the establishment of a Federal department of education, the passage of laws allowing freer teaching of birth-control and freer divorce, as well as other measures which involve both private morals and public legislation. That it operates in such cases through associations of its constituents rather than through hierarchical offices, does not change the basic factor. As far as the connection with lobbying is concerned, there is only a superficial difference between the declaration of a priest at a communion breakfast and the pronouncement of Protestant clergy in convention assembled; though, of course, one may be more powerful than the other. But both opinions are intended for the ears of the politicians, whether directly or indirectly delivered.

Those most outspoken in the view that "a church has no business in politics" have usually been the opponents of the Churches' standards, though politicians have not hesitated to profit by ecclesiastical support. The American Revolutionists mobbed Loyalist preachers and defended the pulpit patriot politicians. The Southern Methodists, who withdrew from what had been a national organization, based their action on the charge that the Northern leaders had brought a party issue, anti-slavery, into the denominational councils; then they proceeded to defend the slave system, as they defend prohibition today. But Congressmen fighting for abolitionism and radical reconstruction heaped no denunciation on those Churches which backed those policies; and the military department command-

ers in the post-war South closed churches whose ministers would not pray for the existing order. Lincoln not only accepted but sought approval of the denominations. Furthermore, while Catholic leaders attack Protestant clergy for mixing in politics, is it not significant that they express at the same time opposition to the Eighteenth Amendment? Likewise, the Episcopal Church has declined to make an official commitment on the liquor-traffic question, just as it did on the slavery issue before the Civil War. But despite their disclaimers of politics, the policy was due to the fact that the denomination was too sharply divided in opinion on those matters. That body has united with other sects in an effort to further uniform legislation on marriage and divorce. The conclusion, therefore, is inevitable, that the present storm, like those in the past, arises, not from mixing Church morality (*per se*) in politics, but in bringing moral issues into the political arena.

The anxiety of the Wets lest religious lobbying might damage the Church arouses suspicion. But since ecclesiastical organizations have always engaged in politics and are still apparently strong institutions, we may conclude that no ill will result. Even defeat through the repeal or nullification of prohibition would not be a new type of experience for them. At the close of the war between the States, Northern denominations, such as the Congregationalists, Methodists and Presbyterians, pledged support of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. But like the general population of their section, they soon lost interest in the "rights" of the Negroes; contributions to freedmen missions declined; and the "bloody shirt" ceased to wave over churches, when it ceased over political capitols.

Are the Churches to determine for themselves what are moral issues, or must they wait until the politicians have incorporated the proper ethical standards into public law before they venture to proclaim the truth? Such a policy, especially in view of the need

for reinterpretation of principles of conduct in our rapidly changing conditions, would make the preachers merely conservers of decadent ideals rather than leaders in building a better world order. Moreover, the sects would all unite against any censorship differentiating them from any public speakers, for, on one point, they agree; each believes itself the authoritative interpreter of the Will of God for man's ethical behavior, though they disagree as to what that Will teaches on many issues.

Should the sectarian organizations confine their efforts to talk and formal resolutions? That method was tried and found ineffective. The mere words of the clergy have never had weight in the United States. The Puritan "political parsons" were powerful only while they held the reins of government. With "the fall of the wilderness Zion" and the progress of disestablishment, the preacher has become, in the eyes of the state, merely a citizen among many. On the other hand, unlike the policy followed in France, Mexico, Russia and other countries, the United States law has not discriminated against Churches and their representatives in the matter of freedom of speech, press and petition. Here, indeed, is a tradition as powerful as any in our political philosophy. That it should be abandoned at this late day is inconceivable.

Thirty years ago the critics charged that preachers were indifferent to temporal conditions and sought only to recover the sinner from eternal damnation after he had fallen before temptations which society had put in his path. The typical picture of the recreant congregation showed the pews occupied by overstuffed gentlemen in dollar-mark suits representing ill-gotten gain from industrial slavery, lawless liquor, war profits and political graft, while in the pulpit was the same sort of frocked caricature that is now used to portray the reformer, but then proclaiming the beauties of heaven, where the wrongs of this life were to be righted, they were to "be damned

if they do, and damned if they don't, so they were damned if they don't do as they please." We may expect the proponents of the "new social gospel" to carry on their direct attack upon social evils, aiming at setting up the commonwealth of righteousness as they conceive it. As concrete evidence, the Southern Methodist General Conference has officially approved the actions of its Bishops in the 1928 presidential campaign, and Northern Methodist, Quaker and other sectarian gatherings have been voting praises for Hoover's policies of enforcement and of disarmament.

The editor of *The Baptist* says that his journal has "frequently pointed out the anachronism * * * of attempting to secure legislation for the conservation of one rest day in seven on the basis of religion. Religious institutions must never be promoted by specific legislation. * * * If the [Lord's Day] Alliance will drop all religious arguments * * * and will work for such legislation on the basis of human welfare and public good, * * * then no one can raise any fair objection" to its campaign. This writer uses the word "religion" as meaning theology in contrast to human social morality. Though his ecclesiastical forebears would have defended the legal sabbath as a "holy day," for man's eternal salvation, this modern Baptist, at least as far as the statutory law is concerned, would advocate a holiday for man's temporal well-being.

That principle applies also to prohibition, marriage, peace and all other issues in which both private behavior and public law are involved; but the distinction is not always made by the clericals. The declaration of Mr. McBride, superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, that his organization

was "born of God" has no more application (and no less, for that matter) to the question of the State's policy with respect to the liquor traffic than does the belief of certain anti-prohibitionists that the Creator has given alcoholic beverages for the use of mankind. Such theological arguments should have no consideration in law-making in a government that has adopted disestablishment. On the other hand, citizens united in an ecclesiastical group have the same right in the United States to seek to incorporate their views into law as do other social organizations, such as the Association Against the Eighteenth Amendment, chambers of commerce and leagues for this and for that. All must be subjected to the same regulations concerning the proper limits of lobbying and campaign activities. In legal matters the Churches may justly claim equal rights, but not special privileges. A lobby for the protection of the morals of the nation is no more dangerous than a lobby for the securing of material well-being.

Incidentally, it is unreasonable for the Churches to claim divine authority for their present views when they ignored the questions involved or even held opposite views on the same authority such a short time ago. Since, moreover, they have come to believe in prohibition only after a long educational process, consideration is due those who have not yet arrived. This attitude, it is true, might weaken the enthusiasm of those reformers whose enthusiasm can be maintained only by thoughts of fire and brimstone; yet it would free such movements from an implication in conflict with the American tradition of separation of Church and State.

The Effect of Dual Government In Ireland

By PADRAIC COLUM
IRISH POET AND ESSAYIST

TODAY IS market day in Portadown, and the streets are lively with people. It is a prosperous town, connected by broad waterways with an industrial country back to Newry and on to Lough Neagh and Belfast. Transportation is cheap and easy; industries are established; people are employed.

The legend of Portadown makes it the ultra-Orange town of Northern Ireland. Mothers are said to keep their children out of forbidden places with the warning, "There are wee Popes in it." History joins with legend; a conspicuous monument commemorates Colonel Saunderson, the champion of Northern Protestantism and the leader of the opposition to home rule in the '80s and '90s.

The tale is told of the British Government official who stood in a street of Portadown. "My good man," he said to a townsman, "where is the church?" "The Presbyterian Church is straight forenenst ye." "No, I don't attend the Presbyterian Church." "Well, the Episcopal Church is down the street and around to your left." "I want to know where people belonging to other denominations go." "The Methodists go up the town and the Baptists go down the town." "And where do the—er—Catholics go?" "The Papishes, is it? They just go to hell." The tale wrongs the kindness of Portadown. I am sure the government official said "Cawtholics," and that it was his accent the townsman objected to. The Catholics of Portadown are no unimportant portion of the people; they number nearly 2,000 in a population of about 10,000.

Walking through Portadown on an Autumn day in 1929 I remembered another Autumn day, Sept. 29, 1912. The

occasion was a historic one. It was "Ulster Day"; a covenant was being signed which committed the Protestants of the whole of Ulster to violent resistance to Mr. Asquith's Home Rule bill which was going through the British Parliament. In those mild prebellic days the granting of a measure of self-government to Ireland was an event of major political importance; the Tories in England patronized an insurrectionary movement in Ireland rather than any Constitution which a Liberal Government might bring into effect; the Protestants of Ulster were encouraged to make revolutionary and warlike movements to show the British Empire that they would enter upon civil war rather than pay taxes to and accept the laws of an Irish Parliament. The first movement was the signing of the Ulster covenant.

I was present at the covenant signing in Portadown. The proceedings began with a service in the First Presbyterian Church. The reader gave out texts from Isaiah and St. Paul, and prayed to God to enlighten the counsels of the British statesmen. I expected, I remember, a flow of impassioned eloquence from the preacher, but heard instead a carefully written statement.

Some people pretended to think that clergymen in the North of Ireland were introducing politics into their churches, he told us. Actually their opposition to home rule was not political; it was a question of life and death. What would be the situation if a home rule bill was passed? A prosperous community would be taxed for the upkeep of monasteries and convents, and a tolerant people would be put under the heel of an intolerant Church. To protect their birthright of free citizenship they were



The Irish Free State and Northern Ireland since 1922

going to sign the covenant; they would sign it with the name of Jesus Christ upon their lips, and if they failed to abide by it they would be branded as liars and cowards.

We left the church while a hymn was being sung. Outside there was a streamer across the street, "For God, for King, for Covenant." An old woman was scolding some wondering children at a corner. "We won't let ye have home rule. The Protestants will put their foot down."

In the street there were young women in nurses' uniforms, ambulances, young men with arms in their hands, and cannon at the street corners. The cannon were wood, the rifles were dummy; but it all meant preparation of a kind, and in those quiet days such preparation had a stirring effect. Hundreds of young men marched to the hall where the covenant was being signed. Outside people were singing "For Union and for King."

Ten years later Ireland was shattered, and there were two Parliaments in the land. The men who signed the covenant in Portadown are not paying taxes to a Dublin Parliament, and they

have their connection with London. But there are men in Cavan, Monaghan and Donegal who also had signed the covenant, and they are now living under a Dublin Government. They do not agonize over unfulfilled covenants, and yet they celebrate the Orange festival as in years past. Whatever was lost in neighborly feeling between them and the Catholics among whom they live has been quickly regained. They are not taxed for the upkeep of convents and monasteries.

The Ulster Protestant living in the Irish Free State does not see the King's head on the postage stamps, and he drops his letter into a green instead of a red box. I am seriously informed that these matters perturb him. There are other matters that might perturb him but probably do not—a moralistic censorship of books and periodicals, and a law that forbids divorce.

There are matters, however, which make for a real contrast between ordinary life in the Free State and that in the northern counties. The Ulster Protestant living in the Free State has to send his children to schools in which the Gaelic language is compulsory. The salaries of the school teachers are 10 per cent lower than in the northern counties, although they compare very favorably with salaries paid to teachers in American towns. Old age pensions are lower and unemployment insurance less adequate. The cost of living is two points higher. But in the Free State the landlords have been compelled to sell their estates to the tenants, and the Protestant farmer in Donegal, Cavan or Monaghan knows that under the Northern Government he might wait a lifetime before he paid annuities instead of rents. He hears across the border the complaints of the tenant farmers whose landlords will not sell to them, and whose government is very slow about compelling landlords to do anything. Living under a Dublin Parliament has its compensations.

When, in 1912, the leaders of the covenanters spoke in exalted tones about "Ulster" they knew very well that they were making a claim they

could not substantiate. When it came to setting up a Parliament in Belfast, they had to let go of three of the nine counties—Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan. But a territory large enough to support a government had to be carved out for them. Two counties with a slight Nationalist majority, Fermanagh and Tyrone, were forced into the northern district. If there had been a plebescite by counties, only four of the nine would have separated from the rest of Ireland; as it is, the Northern Government controls six.

According to returns contained in Blue Books for 1926, the six counties have a population of 1,256,561 people; of these 420,428 are Catholics. There has been a decline in population since, but the proportion remains about the same. With a majority in two counties the Catholics are one-third of the entire population.

Safeguards given them as a minority have been scrapped by the Northern Government. Proportional representation, which in the Free State gives a chance to minorities, has been suppressed in the six counties. "We have been driven out of control of every county council in the north," a representative Northern Nationalist has declared. "Our large majorities in Fermanagh, Tyrone, South Armagh and Derry City have been neutralized by a shameless system of gerrymandering local government areas. In Omagh Rura' Council twenty-one Unionist councillors were returned with 4,153 votes, but 4,400 Nationalist votes could only return three councillors. In Fermanagh 36,455 Nationalists can elect only one member to the Northern Parliament, but 25,529 anti-Nationalists can elect two members. In Antrim a population of 38,619 Na-

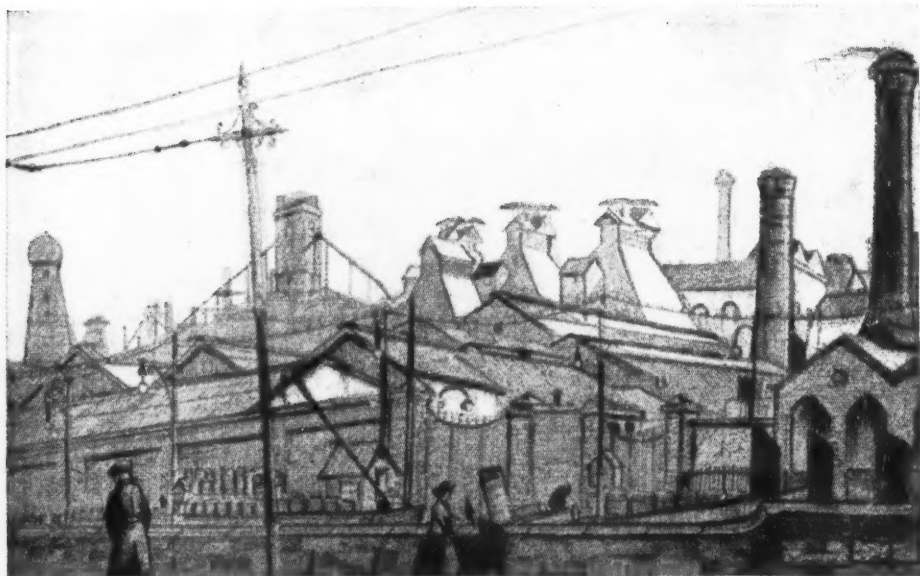
tionalists gets no representation at all." This means repression, and a community that decides on repression has to pay a price.

A stranger observes that the Ulster Constabulary carry revolvers at their belts; that is one sign of the price being paid. Another is the inability of Belfast to create an adequate municipal government. An official report declared that Belfast was being run like a village. In the elections in January, 1930, "the official Unionists," said *The Irish Statesman*, "were returned unopposed for every ward in which they nominated a candidate, and naturally the reactionaries take the walk-over as a



Ewing Galloway

Statue of St. Patrick on the hill of Tara, seat of the ancient Irish Government



Drawing by Harry Kernoff, from *A Book of Dublin*, 1929

GUINNESS'S BREWERY, DUBLIN

Founded in 1759, it has become the largest brewery in the world

final proof that though ratepayers may talk about reforms, they will not take action to secure them, and so can be safely ignored." They cannot take action without displacing men who have secured and who now uphold the present order. The price that the Northern counties pay for an illiberal government is a mechanical and unprogressive administration.

An impression has been created that the Northern counties are not only superior, but are immensely superior, in economic condition to the rest of Ireland, and since this alleged superiority has been used to justify the division of an ancient land, it is not unfair to test the claim by official figures. It is claimed that economic prosperity is not consistent with a decline in population, and the Registrar-General's figures for the Northern counties reveal a decline. The population of 1,256,561 persons in 1926 in the Northern counties declined to 1,250,000 in 1928. Since there were almost 8,000 more births than deaths in that area during the year the loss through emigration must have been considerable. The rate of decrease be-

tween 1926 and 1928 suggests that the recent estimate given by an independent candidate for parliament is correct—that since the setting-up of the Northern Government 70,000 people have emigrated from the six counties.

Ireland has now a customs boundary that marks off the six from the twenty-six counties, and she has two parliaments. The parliaments are not of equal status; while the parliament of the Free State is co-equal with that of Great Britain, the parliament of Northern Ireland is subordinate. The Free State raises and expends its own revenue, imposes tariffs, enters into treaties with other States, has Ministers and consuls in foreign countries and a representative in the League of Nations. Northern Ireland's revenue is raised and expended by the parliament of Great Britain. The government cannot enter into treaties with other countries nor impose tariffs. But Northern Ireland can send representatives to the British Parliament and it has the advantages of British social legislation—old age pensions, unemployment insurance and other social services.

This puts Northern Ireland in the position of a client-State; she pays out tribute and gets back doles. Her political leaders protest their satisfaction with the arrangement, and their protestations, no doubt, are sincere. But the arrangement leads to awkward situations. Northern Ireland's political leadership is Tory, and the party that at present initiates legislation at Westminster is Labor. The Northern representatives in their capacity as members of the Westminster parliament denounce as communistic measures their government at home hastens to make the law of the land. Officially Northern Ireland is philosophic about this right-hand and left-hand distinction. "Our friends in the south," said *The Northern Whig* recently, "may smile at our inconsistencies. We have the benefits." The same journal noted that certain measures enacted at Westminster had put the Northern Government "up a tree." "But," it went on to say, "when one is safely up a tree, and all kinds of perils and unknown conditions are at the foot, it is sometimes prudent to stay there."

How high up the tree the Northern Government has gone through not thinking in terms of its own area's resources, has been shown by the well-informed Belfast correspondent of *The Irish Statesman*. Writing on March 15, 1930, he said, in part:

Ten years or so ago the minister of finance informed the province that Northern Ireland could afford to pay £7,000,000 a year as an Imperial contribution and still provide for its own services. He has now informed us that while paying less than one of these seven millions to England, we can spend no more upon ourselves unless we submit to fresh taxation. We must, for lack of money, acquiesce in the dreadful figure to which infant mortality in Belfast, and (I suspect) throughout the province generally, has climbed. Our financial policy has brought us to this, that we are faced with two alternatives, equally distasteful, either to acquiesce in things as they are, or to put our hands in our pockets to get rid of them. Now this extra taxation, if it is resorted to, will be peculiar to Northern Ireland, imposed by the Northern Parliament, which, having no right to remit any taxation imposed by

Westminster, has the right to add to it in the area under its own (partial) control. We have either, then, to fall gradually behind England in civilization to be taxed more heavily than are the English people whose lead we are following. Even at our present rate of expenditure it will be many years before we have primary school buildings in Northern Ireland at which we need not blush. This is only one instance out of many that might be given of the absurdity of our present policy. We have undertaken, with a total public income of between £10,000,000 or £12,000,000, burdens which every one who reflected upon the matter at all knew could not be discharged with anything like the sum we had at our disposal; and we did so owing to our incurable habit of refusing to think for ourselves. The people who framed our Constitution never thought either of our interests nor even of the natural consequences of their own arrangements. It was enough that a certain party interest should be safeguarded, and we (through our own fault in being too credulous) have to bear the consequences.

The people who framed the Northern Constitution were not young men. In the Free State one gets used to Ministers who were in their thirties when they entered office, and who have just passed into their forties. The Northern Ministers are men passing from their sixties into their seventies.

These Ministers, when they have to speak in public about relations with the Free State, can be counted upon—or could be counted upon until the other day—to express horror at the thought of Northern Ireland having any dealings or communications with men who are against the British Empire. They will not admit that the British Empire of today is not the British Empire that they have in mind. A British Empire has vanished into the past as an Austro-Hungarian Empire has vanished into the past. "Today England itself is nothing more than one English-speaking community among others, in which younger ones will soon become dominant in importance," says Count Hermann Keyserling. To judge by their public utterances the new dispensation has not been revealed to the members of the Northern Ireland Government. This recasting of a world

power has been made by English, Canadian, South African, Australian statesmen, and (by no means least in contribution of energy and idea) young Irish statesmen like Kevin O'Higgins. Northern Ireland politicians, attached to an older imperial ideal, have had no part in this reconstruction.

Ireland, a country with an area of only 32,000 square miles and with no physical features to make for division—a poor country, moreover, with two expensive administrations to keep up—must in time form a union, no matter how ardently a generation may desire to keep to its own side of a boundary. But the approach to the solution of the difficulties in the way of union will have to be slow and tentative. The necessity for cooperation on definite

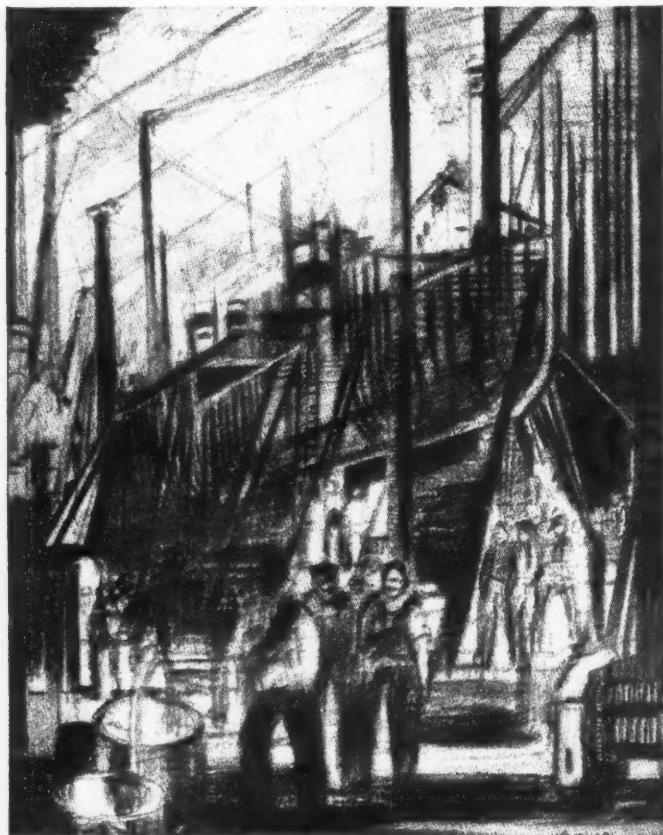
and practical issues must be felt—it is being felt now—to generate enough good-will to deal with the real difficulties in the way of union.

There are economic barriers and there are cultural barriers. Northern Ireland objects to the compulsory study of Irish in the schools, to the forbidding of divorce, and to the protectionist tariff. Belfast makes linen and ships, and there is no market in Ireland for either; moreover, the large-scale industrialists are afraid that Irish Parliamentary measures might cut off their markets or their source of raw material.

Then there is the religious problem, the conflict of Calvinism and Catholicism. André Siegfried in his book on America has shown us that a sense of

superiority is essential to the Calvinists; it is innate in the idea of an Elect. To work with an Irish Government the heads of which might be Catholic would be to acknowledge that Calvinist superiority is not immeasurable. An editorial in *The Irish Statesman* on March 1, 1930, said:

It is futile sentimentalizing over united Ireland, if those speaking ignore the division of economic interests and cultural affections. Those who work for a united Ireland have to take these factors into account. They have to make inquiries of the Ulster industrialists exactly what economic interests of theirs would be injuriously affected by the application to all Ireland of the economic policy of the Free State. There would have to be compromise on both sides and guarantees that nothing would be done by an All-Ireland Parlia-



Drawing by Maurice McGonigal, from *A Book of Dublin*, 1929

THE SHIPYARDS OF DUBLIN

ment to injure any interests. So far as the cultural and religious differences exist there should be a provincial Parliament in the North reserving to itself complete control over certain interests which they would not trust to a Parliament where the majority would be inspired by different cultural and religious traditions. The All-Ireland Parliament might have tariffs, agriculture, transport, posts and telegraphs, &c. The best way to start would be to form an All-Ireland group with members in both areas who would investigate the problem and suggest solutions.

It is only through such slow and tentative stages that arrangements will be made that can ultimately lead to an Irish unity.

At the moment the boundary is a matter of small concern. What concern there is, is shown more in Belfast than in Dublin, but that is because one cannot motor far in any direction in the northern area without being brought to it, and also because small but once thriving businesses like biscuit-making, shirt-making, tobacco-making, have been all but ruined by it. Dublin, with its interests drawn more and more in the direction of Cork and Limerick, is inclined to forget about the border.

Meanwhile the relations between Protestant and Catholic in Northern Ireland are becoming settled; between Northern Ireland and the Free State they are no longer disturbed, and are bound to improve. Cultural relations and sporting relations between Belfast and Dublin have always been good. Dublin people know that the Irish traditional music has always been better known and cultivated in Belfast than in their own city. A new consciousness is developing in Northern Ireland which takes account of the Gaelic past of the province.

Perhaps the Free State in leaving the six counties to their own devices is pursuing the wisest policy. At all events it has had a sobering effect on those enthusiastic Covenanters who maintained that an Irish Government could only exist on the plunder of the

prosperous Northeast. President Cosgrave's government has created an administration that is free from the suspicion of graft or corruption; the important municipalities under its jurisdiction, Dublin and Cork, have been modernized and made progressive; a Civil Service Commission has taken appointments out of the hands of elected bodies thus making for fitness in every branch of the public service under its control. Thoughtful people in Belfast note such developments. They note, too, the efficient handling of industrial apparatus by people whom they had thought incapable of anything but political agitation.

And perhaps the separation of the two areas has not been an unmitigated evil. The absence of Northern representation made it possible for the Free State, by making the Irish language compulsory in the schools, to prepare for the Gaelicization of the country. A Northern representation, too, would have defeated the attempt to industrialize the southern part of the country; all Irish industries would have been concentrated around Belfast.

Now Irish unity, when it does come, will be due to the fact that both areas want it and are prepared to make some sacrifice to attain it; that temper in Ireland will be a benefit that will make a temporary division—even a division lasting for a generation—not altogether unfortunate.

[A news dispatch from Belfast on May 28 quoted Finance Minister Pollock of Northern Ireland as saying that the Northern Ireland financial position had "reached the verge of the danger point." In presenting the budget to Parliament, Mr. Pollock revealed a surplus of only \$85,000 in the year's finances. Mr. Pollock hinted that to save her treasury Ulster must separate her financial policies from those of Great Britain. Increases in pensions, unemployment insurance costs, costs of education and social services were held responsible for the crisis.]

The Portuguese Republic

Since the War

By ALVA E. GAYMON

LISBON JOURNALIST

FOR PORTUGAL to overthrow the monarchy which had been governing it for hundreds of years and within a few days establish a republic was a momentous event in history, but to become involved in war six years after its inception seemed a blow to its hopes of tranquillity and a threat to the development of republican ideals. The entrance of Portugal into the World War, however, served to unite all factions in the country and to a large extent was responsible for engendering the democratic sentiment now flourishing so vigorously.

After the war, during which there was a serious internal revolution, the little republic found itself disorganized and greatly in debt. Thirty thousand of her finest men had been killed. Thousands of ignorant peasants had flocked to the cities in search of higher wages, occupying the places of those who entered military service. Housing facilities were taxed to their utmost by the returning thousands. The streets of Oporto and Lisbon as well as all roads throughout the country were in bad condition after three years of neglect and hard use. The railroads were almost ready to stop issuing time tables. Internal taxes had been neglected to such an extent that war fortunes were practically intact and the country's budget was a subject of secondary consideration in Parliament. It was whispered that the old irreconcilable monarchists were getting their funds out of the country as fast as possible, while some of the die-hards began to deride the republic, without, of course, taking account of the effects of a war.

In an effort to solve the numerous

problems with which the new republic was faced, the politicians were juggling the government about from one party to another, their terms in office varying from three days to a year. Among the half dozen different political parties in the country not one possessed an absolute majority in Parliament, and there were periodical revolutions initiated by opponents of those in office.

On Oct. 19, 1921, after days of wrangling and disorder in Parliament, the populace read in the morning papers that Antonio Granjo, the Prime Minister, had been kidnapped and shot by a band of revolutionaries in the national arsenal, and that Admiral Machado Santos, known as the Father of the Republic established in 1910, had been taken from his house and killed. Immediately after the revolt, Dr. Jose Antonio d'Almeida, President of the republic, determined to resign, and it was only after a great public demonstration in front of his house that he consented to continue in office. He thereby made the record of being so far the only Portuguese President to complete his term of four years, the others having been overthrown or assassinated.

The parody of trying to govern continued. The Portuguese currency began to decline in value. The escudo, which had a par value of \$1.08, fell to 3 cents. The country was rapidly drifting toward financial and political disaster. But fortunately there were some serious-minded, capable men of courage and initiative who had taken little if any part in the political tumults of the past. Among them were Joao Mendes Cabacadas, a Commander in the

navy; the late General Gomes da Costa, the late Sinel des Cordes, General Oscar Carmona and Colonel Passos da Souza, all military men who realized the inevitable chaos if things continued as they were.

The various heads of the army and navy having agreed on a program to establish a military dictatorship, the movement began at Braga, a town in North Portugal, on May 28, 1926. General Gomes da Costa immediately assumed the leadership. Practically all the military elements aligned themselves with the movement and concentrated their forces a few miles outside Lisbon. On June 6, 1926, they marched on the city and took charge of the government offices. Parliament was disbanded, President Bernardino Machado fled, and General da Costa assumed the title of Dictator. In 1927, General Oscar Carmona was selected as the candidate of the military dictatorship for President, and after an election was held without opposition on March 25, 1928, he began his work as President. Parliament was not then, nor has it since been, convened. The present government is directed by a Cabinet chosen by the military chiefs under the leadership of General Carmona.

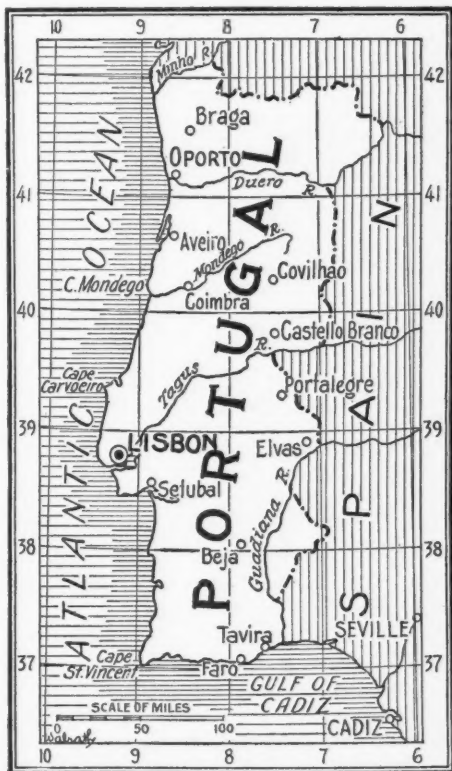
Everything was not to be entirely peaceful for the dictatorship, however, and it was not until after a serious and expensive revolution in February, 1927, that General Carmona and those allied with him established their present control.

Portugal's political problem was at last apparently solved. But at the same time the financial difficulty became serious. Military men, though able to control the political situation, were unequal to the task of creating financial order. Dr. Oliveria Salazar, Professor of Economics in the University of Coimbra, was appointed Minister of Finance. Though he had little or no practical experience, he was well versed in economic theory. Instead of being influenced by the requirements of one industry as opposed to another, he diagnosed general causes and effects and worked out on paper what should

be done if certain results were to be obtained. Thus it has come about that under his direction Portugal is now well on the road to financial recovery. Revenues are not only sufficient to cover expenditures but the budget shows a substantial surplus.

One by one the difficulties encountered by the dictatorship are being overcome. The landlords have been permitted to raise rents gradually, and builders of new homes have been given an incentive by the cancellation of all taxes for a period of ten years. Miles of new road have been made in Lisbon and Oporto. An entirely new installation of electric street lamps has been made in Lisbon during the last year. The State-owned railways are now leased to a private company and instead of a deficit return a profit to the State.

Millions of escudos have been spent



MAP OF PORTUGAL

during the last three years on roads, and it is now possible to motor in comfort from one end of the country to the other. Interest on the Portuguese war debts has been paid, and it is stated that within a short time there will be no external indebtedness. The exchange has been more or less stabilized for four years at 22 escudos to the dollar, and there is now talk of definitely fixing it on a gold basis.

Thousands of political employes have been dismissed from the positions which they have held in various government offices during so many political régimes. Ex-President Bernardino Machado has been exiled, and even abroad has been fined for utterances derogatory to the country under the dictatorship régime.

Financial order has been restored without recourse to external loans. The Financial Committee, which was sent to Portugal by the League of Nations in 1928, recommended a loan with a certain amount of supervision as to its expenditure, but this was refused, and the government has had to depend entirely on revenues available in the country. Import duties have been raised and internal taxes increased almost to the limit, but industry has borne the increased burden in spite of some business failures. It is generally thought that the worst has been passed, and that there is now some prospect of relief from high taxation.

An internal loan for 100,000,000 escudos (about \$5,000,000) recently issued by the government was subscribed for three times over before being underwritten by eight of Portugal's leading banks. An international banking group, it is said, has made overtures to the dictatorship regarding an external loan, but the government is unwilling to pay high interest rates. These foreign bankers even offered to waive control over the expenditure of the loan, but it is doubted if the Minister of Finance at this time really desires or sees the necessity of an external loan with which to burden the taxpayers.

Conspiring against the dictatorship

still goes on, but through numerous secret police agents scattered throughout the provinces any serious plot is quickly discovered and those involved are invited to accept a residence prescribed by the government in some distant Portuguese colony. The press is muzzled with a rigid censorship. Not a word of the slightest significance, questioning, criticizing or opposing anything done by the dictatorship is allowed to appear in print. The leaders of the old political parties are generally aghast at the iron hand they feel upon them, but they know that the slightest move might place them in an embarrassing situation. Many live in France and Spain, having favored foreign soil after the end of the old political régime.

The period of Portugal's advancement since the war dates from the military seizure of the country in 1926. As a colonial power she ranks third in the world today, for her possessions include part of the richest sections of Western and Eastern South Africa, and as aerial navigation progresses, the Azore Islands and Cape Verde Islands in mid-Atlantic are increasing in value. Cork, wine and sardines are Portugal's three most important exports, while cocoa, ivory, coffee and diamonds come in quantities from her African colonies. Every year so far, however, the imports of Portugal proper have been 25 per cent more than her exports. Though Portugal itself has an area of only 34,254 square miles, 6,000,000 people find a livelihood in it, notwithstanding that 75 per cent are illiterate. Elementary education is sadly neglected, but not more so than in other Latin countries.

To rejuvenate Portugal, to bring back the Portugal of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is the ambition of the Portuguese of today. With the enormous resources at hand an educated Portuguese nation should again quickly assume prominence in the affairs of the world. For that reason the reduction of illiteracy is now apparently the most important unsolved problem facing the nation.

LISBON, May, 1930.

The Causes of Civil War in China

By HALLETT ABEND
RESIDENT JOURNALIST IN PEKING

NOW THAT nearly nineteen years have elapsed since the beginning of what has loosely been termed the Chinese revolution, it becomes evident that some process other than a revolution is under way. To understand better the tragic march of events in the one-time Flowery Kingdom, the rest of the world will do well to discard the misleading term "Chinese revolution" and to substitute for it "China's dissolution."

The process going on in China today, to the infinite woe of the Chinese people, is one of wrecking and of destruction. An old order has been overthrown but no new order has arisen or been created. The progress of dissolution is being rapidly accelerated, but of reconstruction there is as yet no sign, and the changes necessary as a prelude to the founding of a new government worthy of the name are proceeding so slowly that it is probable no man living today will witness the end of civil strife and the founding of a stable government exerting real authority in a united China.

Thirty years ago John Hay was apprehensive concerning the possibilities of a disintegrated China, but he feared that European powers, hungry for territory, would partition the tottering empire. The American Government, in order to make such a partition impossible, declared in unmistakable terms for the "Open Door" and for the "territorial integrity of China." Today the disintegration and partition which John Hay so greatly feared is actually under way, but it is being accomplished by warring Chinese factions instead of by outside forces. The "Open Door" still stands ajar, but it gives upon a distracted and almost bankrupt continental area inhabited by several hundred million human beings who have

suffered so frightfully under successive military despotisms that today over enormous stretches of territory no form of government functions—enormous stretches of territory in which extortion and looting, famine and pestilence have reduced the populations to such a pass that even cannibalism no longer provokes local comment.

In the Autumn of 1911, when the rebellion against the Manchu Dynasty began, the rest of the world looked on with lively sympathy as the later Manchu rulers had been notorious for permitting corruption and oppression. When early in 1912 the Manchu Dynasty abdicated, and a "Chinese Republic" was proclaimed, the rest of the world hastened to welcome what seemed to promise to become a modernized government for China. The Chinese people would probably have had to endure the disorders incident to the overthrow of a dynasty even had there been no contact with the aggressive civilizations of America and of Europe, for the Manchu ruling house was no longer producing Emperors of sufficient vigor, daring and enterprise to hold the country together. But because of contacts with Western civilization the overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty was motivated by half-understood ideas of liberty, democracy and equality, and the successful rebels then tried to impose upon China a President and a Parliament. China was by no means ready to accept such innovations and the attempt failed.

President Yuan Shih-kai, the "Strong Man" of those early days of the "Republic," realized that a benevolent despotism would be the best thing for China's illiterate hundreds of millions, and he tried to make himself Emperor. Cromwell himself never meted out to any Parliament treatment more brusque



Photograph by Hallett Abend

TYPICAL CHINESE SOLDIERS

and dictatorial than that which Yuan Shih-kai meted out to his Parliament. The men who had helped to make a success of the rebellion against the Manchus were not in a mood to accept such treatment. Thus, Yuan's imperial aspirations came to naught, and then he died.

In some quarters it has become the fashion to discuss "the progress of the Chinese Revolution," but there has been no progress. Since Yuan Shih-kai's death talk of progress has been plentiful, but real signs of progress are almost impossible to find. Instead, there has been retrogression, and today all signs point to the splitting of China into a number of autonomous States instead of to a real unity under a stable and responsible government. While the people have become poorer and poorer, the size of the armies has doubled and trebled, debts have mounted, public and private morality has declined, banditry and piracy have increased to an alarming extent, and today what is called communism has developed into a real peril not only to China but to the peace and stability of the whole Far East.

The American Government no longer

refers to China with the fatuous phrase of "Our Sister Republic," for the grim fact has finally become self-evident that China today is in a condition comparable to the condition of Germany in the days when the petty dukes and princes made war upon one another. A German people existed even then, but a "united Germany" was a matter of long and painful evolution. So today there exists a Chinese people, but a "united China" is only an idea or an ideal, entertained in China by a few tens of thousands of educated patriots, and still credited in America and in Europe only by the uninformed or by sentimental optimists who cling stubbornly to a belief which all existing facts prove to be fallacious.

This internal disunity of the Chinese people is no new thing. For the last 2,500 years China has endured a civil war or a rebellion of major proportions on an average of about once every seventeen years, and only once since the beginning of what is known as the Christian era has China been ruled by a Chinese dynasty. The Manchus, the last dynastic power which held sway over the Chinese people, conquered and

subdued the country by force of arms, and for well over two centuries maintained itself by force. The "unity" of China during these days was founded upon the fact that the Emperor at Peking kept large Manchu garrisons at all provincial capitals and at other important cities. The Throne appointed Viceroys and Governors, and these men were virtually independent satraps who were free from imperial interference so long as they sent the proper tribute to Peking every year, and so long as, in order to raise this tribute and enrich themselves, they did not overtax or misgovern the people so excessively as to goad them into rebellion. Of national spirit, or patriotism, the hundreds of millions of Chinese knew nothing. And today even China's patriots and China's foreign apologists will admit that it would be fantastic to declare that 10,000,000 out of China's 400,000,000 population are concerned with any ideas or sentiments which are in the slightest degree national or patriotic.

China is much larger than the United States and has only about 7,000 miles of railways, while the United States has nearly 300,000 miles. The Chinese people do not speak one language but a bewildering variety of languages and dialects, some of which differ as greatly as does the language of Sweden from that of Italy. China has only an inconsiderable mileage of roads that can be traversed by any kind of four-wheeled vehicle. China is handicapped by an unknown percentage of illiteracy and poverty so acute that the standard of living of her peasant and laboring classes passes the understanding of foreigners.

The lack of foreign understanding of the Chinese problem is best explained because most people do not think of politics in terms of geography. China is continental in

area, and much of this continental area is inaccessible from the sea. Whereas the United States has long coast lines on both the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans and also an enormous area accessible from the Gulf of Mexico, China has only her eastern coast open to the sea. To the south lie the mountains and jungles of Burma and of Indo-China. To the west lies Tibet, with the world's greatest mountain chains as barriers which are almost insurmountable. To the north, where the United States has the prosperous and friendly Canadian Provinces as neighbors, China is bounded by the great Mongolian deserts or by Russian-controlled Siberia. China's few railroads are of no more value in unifying the country for commercial, military or national purposes than would be a half ruined system of 7,000 miles in the United States, if all that trackage were located in New England, New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. What



Photograph by Hallett Abend

Famine sufferers waiting for their daily ration



Photograph by Hallett Abend

Refugee huts for famine sufferers at Tsinan

chance would the government at Washington have of controlling Montana, Oregon or California if there were no easy means of communication, if the inhabitants of those States spoke an alien dialect, and if the States were governed by military satraps who maintained large mercenary armies?

These are the geographical reasons for China's continued turmoil. To them must be added the natural accompaniments of regional jealousies, regional indifference to or ignorance of the conditions of the country at large, and the fact that now, as in the days of the Manchu emperors, such civil authority as is exercised depends entirely upon the backing of military power. President Yuan Shih-kai had extended his authority before he attempted to found a new dynasty, by winning or buying the temporary support of various Generals who had risen to power in their own zones during the turbulent days which followed the abdication of the Manchu Dynasty. When these Generals turned against him and the frustration of his imperial dreams was quickly followed by his death, the country found itself divided and ruled by a large num-

ber of Tuchuns (regional warlords). Successive attempts to establish a functioning central government have all involved the necessity of winning the allegiance or support of these warlords by the use of money or by promises of positions of power and profit. Time and again nominal unification has seemed to be accomplished, but each time the price paid for the support of a General has risen higher and higher, and this has naturally been attended by a growing conviction on the part of the militarists that they were indispensable.

"Unity" once achieved, the demands of these supporters have quickly become so unreasonable that quarrels have resulted, only to be followed either by open mutiny or by the would-be central authority being forced to issue "punitive mandates" against commanders who refused to accept orders from the government. Other regional leaders, naturally jealous of the growth of a central authority which might curtail their own liberties of action, have usually been quite ready to assist the mutinous or rebellious Generals. This has brought about the tragic and shadowy passing of one régime after another,

and as yet there seems to be no unifying force or sentiment strong enough to end this drift toward disunion.

Names and labels change in China with great rapidity, but facts change very slowly. The rest of the world, not realizing how little importance should be attached to the change of names, has been prone to hail each new movement or government as the real champion of unity and as being truly representative of the people of China. From 1912 to 1926, for instance, it was the fashion for the Chinese military leaders to swear undying loyalty to "The Republic." Of course "The Republic" never existed except on paper, in the deluded minds of foreigners and in the hearts and hopes of a handful of Chinese patriots. Then in 1926 China and the rest of the world shared amazement when the Kuomintang Nationalist régime with headquarters at Canton launched its armies with the avowed purpose of capturing Peking, 2,000 miles to the north, and of then founding a government which, it was announced, would give an enlightened and modernized rule to a "united China."

This Kuomintang party movement, founded and fostered by the late Dr.

Sun Yat-sen, attracted the enthusiastic support of most of the intelligentsia of China and of a great portion of the banking and commercial classes. Here at last seemed to be an organization inspired by a patriotic ideal and boasting a practical plan for freeing China from chaos, regionalism and an almost continuous series of civil wars. The Kuomintang leaders announced a three-part plan—militarism, tutelage, and self-government. The period of militarism was to be completed when the last of the warlords had been driven out of North China. The period of tutelage was then to begin at once, was to be limited to six or eight years and then, when the people had been educated and made fit for self-government the Kuomintang party was voluntarily to relinquish its domination and hand over to the control of a grateful Chinese people a functioning and well-established government. The plan sounded ideal. The trouble was that it was idealistic to the point of being visionary and that it ignored the realities of the situation.

Peking and Tientsin were captured by the Nationalist armies in June, 1928, just two years after the Kuomintang



Photograph by Hallett Abend

Ruins of the American Mission Church at Pang Hsien, Hunan, destroyed by Communists

armies first started their northward drive from Canton. The last of the warlords had disappeared; some had been deserted by their armies; some had fled to foreign lands, and one had been assassinated. But most of them had joined the Nationalist movement, had professed loyalty to the Kuomintang party's principles, and had joined the ranks of those who declared that only traitors would ever dare to renew civil strife on China's soil. From June, 1928, to February, 1929, the pretense of unity was maintained. Even Manchuria hoisted the Nationalist flag. Foreign nations hastened to accord formal recognition to the Nationalist régime; the capital was removed from Peking to Nanking, and the pronouncements of the optimists seemed to have been amply justified. China was impoverished, deeply in debt and even in arrears in most of her interest commitments, but the country was at peace and to superficial observers it seemed as if the time for reconstruction and for "tutelage" was really at hand. Had not all the regional warlords who still commanded armies sworn allegiance to Nanking? Were not the most powerful of these warlords actually in the new capital, and holding Cabinet portfolios?

Then came the question of disbandment. China's collective armies, which had totaled 400,000 men in 1911, had increased to 2,000,000 by the beginning of 1929. The Finance Minister issued a public warning that unless this enormous force was immediately reduced to a maximum of 800,000 men, the government would become bankrupt. A disbandment conference was held and a \$30,000,000 disbandment bond issue was voted. But how was disbandment to be arranged? The distrusts of other years persisted among the leaders and among the Cabinet members. No one General or Provincial Governor was willing to disband his own private mercenary forces so long as other warlords retained theirs. Each one claimed special merits for his own troops; each one pointed out special services performed "for the success of the revolution." A

sincere attempt seems to have been made to arrive at an agreement for a proportional disbandment scheme, under which each warlord supporting Nanking would give up so many of his armed retainers that proportionate strengths the country over would remain the same. In other words the regional rulers of a supposedly "united China" endeavored to reach an agreement which would maintain the "balance of power." The attempt ended in failure.

One by one the Cabinet members left Nanking, some openly and some by stealth. They secluded themselves in the safety of their own domains, and for a time some of them bargained for terms under which they felt they could afford to continue to support the "Central Government." The end of February, 1929, brought an end to the "peace and unity" which had prevailed only eight months, for already the Nanking Government was openly at war with a faction which held Hankow. That short campaign was the first of eight separate civil wars which Nanking was forced to fight during 1929.

In nearly every case these successive mutinies and rebellions of Generals and of factions have been based primarily upon a natural resistance to the extension of the authority of the "Central Government." Any or all of the various Generals who have been classed as rebel leaders within the last sixteen months would have been content to fly the Nanking flag, give lip service to the doctrines of the Kuomintang party and permit Nanking to handle China's foreign affairs. For this much unity they were ready, but they did not want Nanking to monopolize the revenue nor soldiers of the Nanking régime to be sent into their own private domains. Moreover, they resented the fact that the Kuomintang party national headquarters at Nanking sent to the various provincial capitals young politicians who established provincial party headquarters from which they presumed to take a hand in administrative affairs. When these regional war-

lords refused to submit to orders sent from the Nanking Government, they were formally expelled from the Kuomintang party, and then pronounced "rebels," "reactionaries" or "Communists." The defiant regional satraps retaliated by declaring that the Kuomintang party and the "revolution" had been "betrayed," and usually added the charge that General Chiang Kai-shek, the head of the Nanking Government, was trying to make himself a "dictator."

To the people of the Western World it seems almost incredible that in the

about \$100 in American money. This, of course, was a peacetime estimate.

But the peace did not continue, and the last annual financial statement of the Nanking Government reveals a total revenue of \$434,000,000, of which \$209,000,000 went for wars and army upkeep and \$121,000,000 for interest upon foreign loans secured upon the customs receipts. This left only \$104,000,000 for all administrative expenses. That total revenue was derived from the customs, which cannot be tampered with owing to a measure of foreign control, and from the "national taxes"



Times Wide World

CONFUCIAN TEMPLE, PEKING

A reminder of China's past glory, the only place of worship kept in fair repair

face of conditions of this kind enough money can be raised to finance this almost continuous fighting, particularly in a country already greatly impoverished. The cost of maintaining a Chinese Army is extremely low. Official figures compiled for the disbandment conference showed that if the armies, then totaling 2,000,000 men, were reduced to 715,000 men, the military budget could be kept down to \$192,000,000 for the year. This would mean an annual maintenance cost of \$280 in Chinese money per man, a sum equivalent today to

collected in only four of the twenty-two provinces, while \$100,144,000 was derived from the sale of bonds and treasury notes, loans and overdrafts. As to the "national taxes" collected in the other eighteen provinces, they were retained by the local warlords and most of the money was used for arming or warring against the Nanking Government.

In its struggle to maintain itself the Nanking Government has been forced to alienate the extreme Conservatives or "old style" leaders as well as the

radical Left Wing of the Kuomintang party and has waged relentless war against the Chinese Communist party. What is called communism in China is, oddly enough, strongest in South and South-Central China, instead of in the North where Siberia touches the Chinese frontiers. This strength in the South is due to the fact that when the Nationalist Armies left Canton, in the Summer of 1926, the Kuomintang party was working in alliance with Soviet Russia. Russian and Chinese Communist organizers and propagandists accompanied the armies in their successful drive northward, and were not suppressed until the break between the Kuomintang and Moscow in the Summer of 1927. Meanwhile, as the armies overran all the provinces south of the Yangtse River, propagandists and organizers had dropped behind and had organized semi-Communist peasants' unions, labor unions, students' unions and even women's unions. Today vast areas are overrun by what are called Communist bands but which in reality are bandits led by deserters from the armies who while they were still in uniform picked up a smattering of Communist slogans and eagerly embraced the idea of taking everything away from the rich and dividing it among the poor. Slogans of this kind have a deep appeal to a people who for nineteen years have been overtaxed and misgoverned.

How much patriotism, principle and unselfish devotion to the cause of China is to be found in this tragic scene? Any fair estimate must place the total very high in numbers, but even the large numbers are very small in proportion to the vast population of China,

which is estimated all the way from 400,000,000 to 480,000,000. Though most of the unselfish patriots are found in civilian life, it cannot fairly be maintained that all the military leaders are entirely selfish and utterly callous to the sufferings of the masses of the people.

When the Nationalist Armies began their drive from Canton in the Spring of 1926 the leaders of the movement were actuated by a devotion to the cause that amounted almost to religious fervor. Then military successes, aided by propaganda and the use of cash, came so easily that the ranks of the Nationalists and the membership of the Kuomintang were quickly swelled by the various kinds of camp followers who are always ready to attach themselves to a cause that gives promise of success and power. This rapid dilution brought about dissension in the Nationalist ranks. For the last sixteen months all the civil wars in China have been fought between rival Nationalist factions and cliques. Every leader declares himself the sincere defender of real nationalism, and denounces his enemies as hypocritical traitors to the cause.

Meanwhile the Chinese people, thrifty, hard working, cheerful in the face of appalling adversities, are unorganized, voiceless and unarmed. Huge armies of illiterate coolies and peasants do the bidding of Generals who can give them food and clothing and an occasional handful of small silver coins, coins wrung from the silent and suffering tens of millions who ask of life nothing better than the privilege to toil and to be permitted to keep the fruits of their toil.

CURRENT HISTORY IN CARTOONS



He ordered
watermelon
and they
brought him a
lemon!
—Newark
Evening
News



THE
PHOENIX
RISING FROM
THE ASHES
—Brooklyn
Daily Eagle



THE NAVAL ARMAMENT RACE IS ON
—Dallas Morning News



TE DEUM LAUDAMUS
Thanksgiving service of the international armament industry at the close of the London conference
—Simplicissimus, Munich



ITALY'S HYPOCRISY
In London she declares her love of peace, while at home—!
—De Notenkraker, Amsterdam



Lloyd George:
"Oh, no, Mamma.
We haven't a pact.
We are just walk-
ing out."

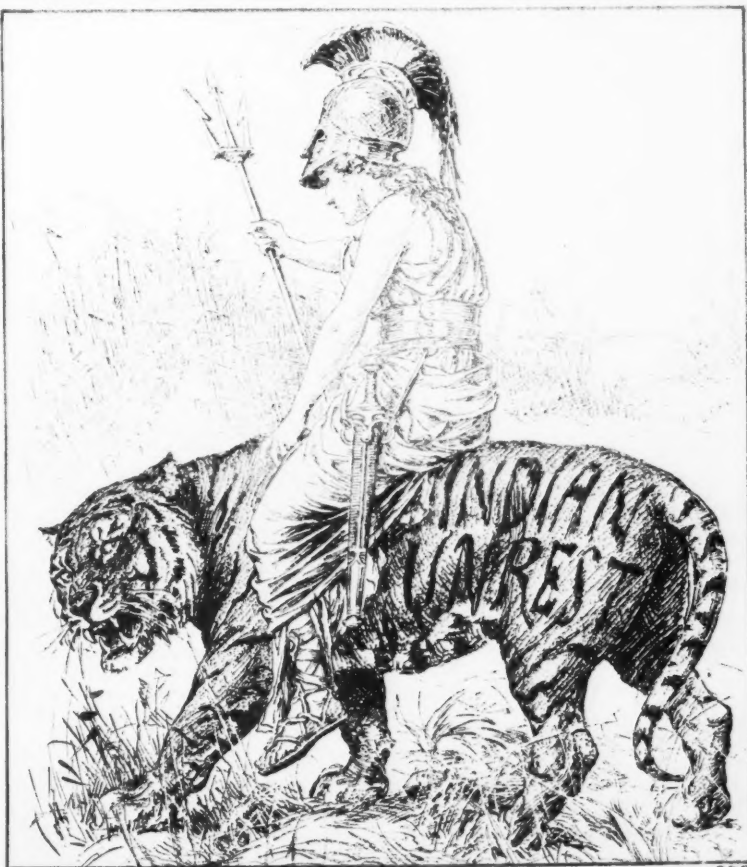
—Glasgow Record

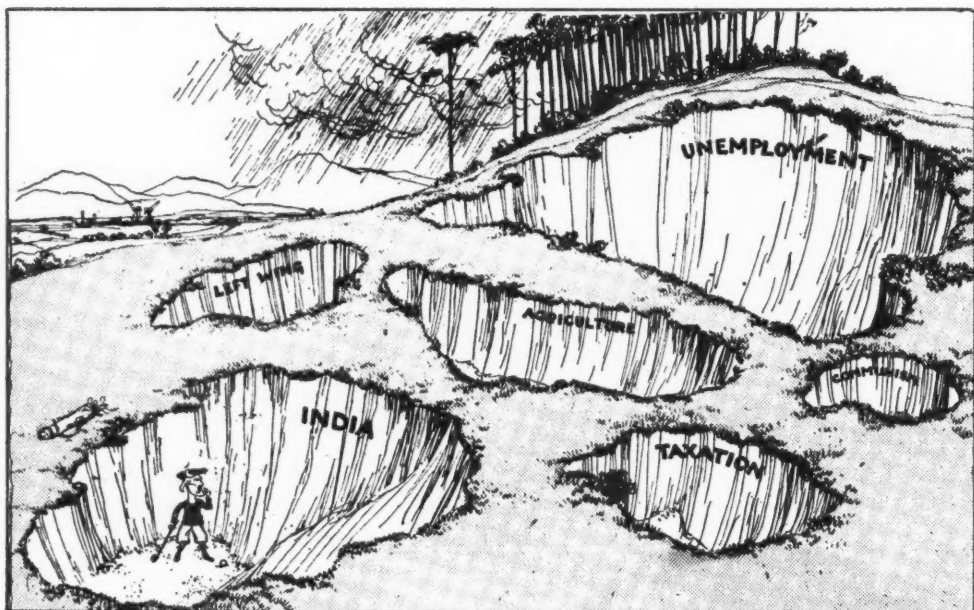
SITTING TIGHT

Britannia (to ti-
ger): "In case
you're under any
misapprehension, I
am not like 'The
Young Lady of
Riga.' I propose to
return from this
ride with our rela-
tive positions un-
changed"

—Punch, London

(There was a young
lady of Niger
Who went for a ride
on a tiger;
They returned from
the ride with the
lady inside,
And a smile on the
face of the tiger)

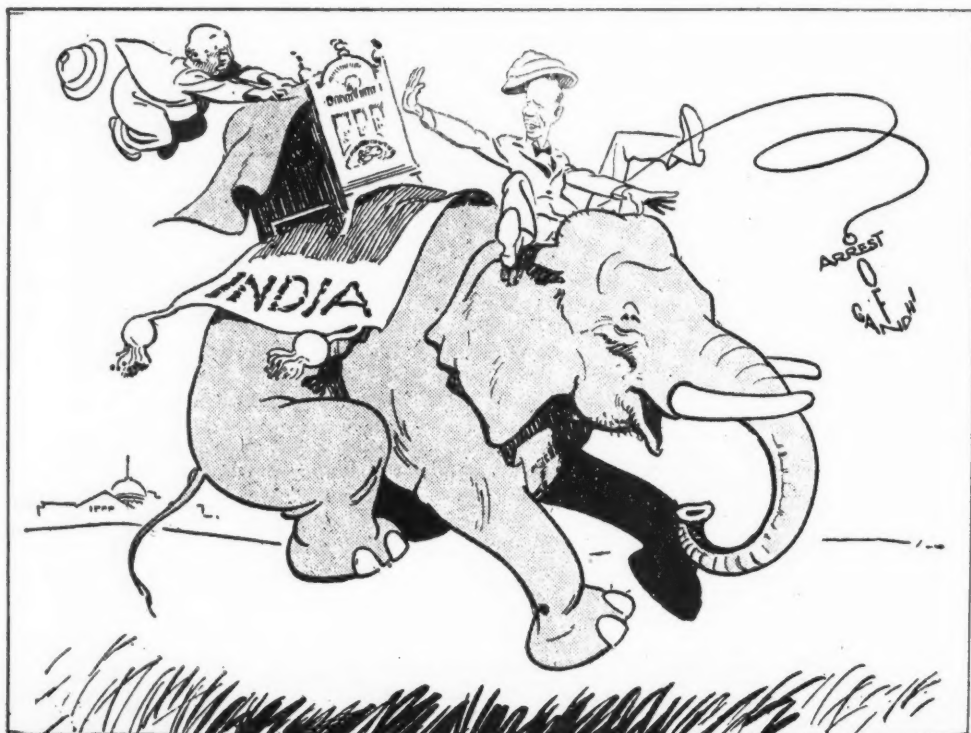




NOTHING BUT BUNKERS

The Premier: "The fairway seems to have disappeared altogether since I started playing this season!"

—Glasgow Bulletin



THE VICEROY: "I HAVE THE SITUATION WELL IN HAND"

—Glasgow Evening News



STRONGER THAN THE WALLS OF JERICHO

—Adams Service



When Supreme Court Judges have to conform to all the vagaries of the United States Senate

—New York Herald Tribune



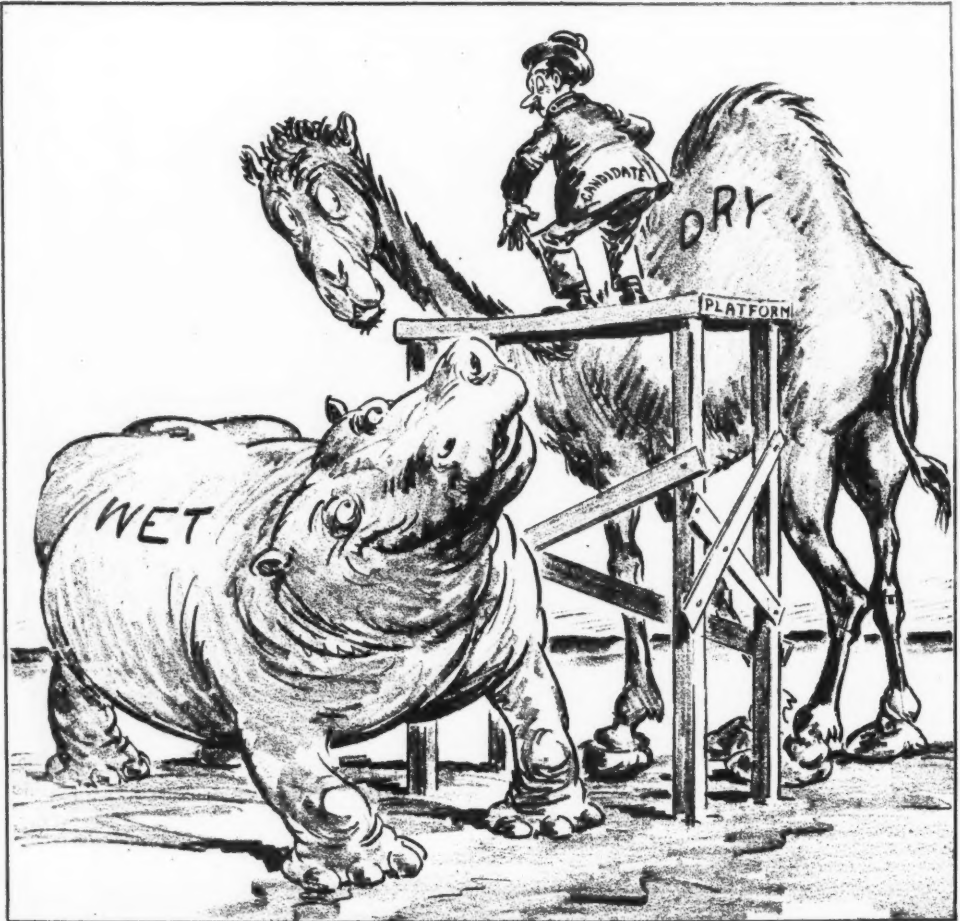
CAN HE HOLD EVERYTHING?

—Sioux City (Ind.) Tribune



THE PORTRAIT PAINTERS

—New York Times



HIGH JUMP OR BROAD JUMP?

—Brooklyn Daily Eagle

Belgium's Anti-Liquor Laws

By AIMEE RACINE

DOCTOR OF LAWS, UNIVERSITY OF BRUSSELS; RESEARCH ASSISTANT,
INSTITUT DE SOCIOLOGIE SOLVAY, BRUSSELS

SINCE THE ARMISTICE Belgium has been subjected to a régime of alcohol restriction which, with other measures, has resulted in a considerable reduction in the consumption of alcohol, which was exceptionally high before the war. But the liquor interests have not abandoned the struggle, and their supporters in the Chamber of Representatives have twice introduced a bill for a virtual return to non-restriction—in 1922 and in 1925. Since the 1927 session, the Chamber has held repeated and animated discussions on the proposed bill. In the name of the working class, the Socialist party declared itself the determined adversary of the plan and stated that it would sanction no amendment except in the direction of complete prohibition of spirits. It should be noted that no voice has ever been raised in favor of prohibiting wine and beer. Such a suggestion would be too definitely against the customs of the Belgians and would not have the slightest chance of success.

To bring some sort of order out of the resultant chaos, a commission of inquiry was appointed during the Summer of 1929. It was composed of mental specialists, lawyers and representatives of temperance societies and of the liquor interests. The commission was to investigate the results of restriction and to formulate amendments. It has recently submitted a rough draft of a bill, the terms of which cannot be understood without a knowledge, at least in broad outline, of the struggle against alcoholism in Belgium, of the solution arrived at in 1919, and, finally, of the benefits derived from this solution.

In 1913 Belgium held second rank in Europe, with an annual per capita consumption of 13.18 liters of wine, beer and liquor. France came first, with

18.88 liters. Beer, the staple drink of Belgium, was responsible for almost half of this amount.

Alcohol was distributed among the people by countless public houses. In every hamlet signboards swung over a number of doors. The city streets, lined with lights, advertised the attractions of the *assommoirs*, the slang term for "public houses." In 1889 there were 191,125 establishments selling alcoholic drink, one for every thirty-one inhabitants. Although the number of establishments increased to 202,643 in 1914, the proportion fell to one for thirty-seven inhabitants. At the same time, France, the leading country in the ranks of alcoholism, had only 450,000 licensed premises, one for eighty-eight inhabitants.

It is interesting to note that drink, which affected chiefly the working classes, extorted from them one-sixth of their wages; 37 per cent of the workers failed to appear at work on Mondays because of week-end drinking bouts. Finally, crime in Belgium assumed a definitely brutal character, which has been attributed to the large consumption of liquor. Sundays and the village feast days rarely passed without a flow of blood as well as drink. Drunkenness also made for a high percentage of sex offenses.

The fight against the moral and physical disintegration of the working forces of the nation was initiated by the legislature about forty years ago. It started with a fiscal policy aimed simultaneously at raising revenue and putting a check on drinking. A law of April, 1896, subjected the output of alcohol to State control by imposing an excise duty of 64 francs per hectoliter of distilled alcohol. (A-hectoliter is 100 liters, or about 22 gallons.) Sub-

sequent laws advanced this tax to 1,350 francs in 1924. It must be remembered that the Belgian franc has depreciated to one-seventh of its pre-war value; it was stabilized in 1926 at the rate of 35 francs to the dollar. From the beginning, this heavy taxation was accompanied by a rise in retail prices and a consequent reduction in consumption, as already pointed out. But the rate of taxation, never readjusted since 1924, now proves unduly low in view of the rise in the exchange rate from 20 to 35 francs to the dollar and the monthly average price index from 500 to 874 in 1929.

Excise duties were imposed on wine in 1896 and on beer in 1904. In the meanwhile, other laws, with a purely social purpose, were also voted, chief of which was the law of 1906, the first of its kind in Europe, which abolished absinthe, the most pernicious form of drink used.

Not until the war was decisive action taken to check the evil of alcohol. Then Belgium, like practically every other State in Europe, realized, under the stress of unusual conditions, the necessity of strong and immediate action regulating not only production and transportation of drink but also sale and consumption. When, in August, 1914, the Germans advanced as far as the River Yser, overrunning practically the whole of Belgium, the government sought shelter in France, at Le Havre, and as early as November, 1914, it prohibited the sale and consumption of alcoholic drink throughout the portion of the territory which remained free from invasion. In 1917 a commission was appointed with the task of "drafting a bill on the definitive conditions governing the drink trade in liberated Belgium." In the occupied territory, moreover, consumption of alcohol had already shrunk to one-seventh of its pre-war volume under the influence of prohibitive prices. The ground was thus prepared, and the decree issued on Nov. 15, 1918, perpetuated an existing situation by prohibiting the manufacture, importation, transportation, sale and consumption of intoxicating drink of

an alcoholic strength exceeding 8 degrees, except beer and light wines. This measure, which was due to the efforts of Emile Vandervelde, the Socialist leader, was to be only temporary. It was replaced by a compromise, a less severe system, introduced by the law of Aug. 29, 1919, which is in force to this day. This law raised the excise duties considerably, but its main feature was that while not interfering with the wholesale trade, it placed restrictions upon the retail trade. Intoxicating liquors and wine exceeding an alcoholic strength of 12 degrees may not be sold below a minimum quantity of 2 liters. Proprietors of licensed premises are prohibited from selling or offering gratuitously any of the above intoxicants; they may not keep such intoxicants on the premises or in their private homes. The consumption of such drinks is prohibited in all public places, such as hotels, restaurants, stores, railway cars, ships, theatres, music halls and workshops.

Belgium has been living for ten years now under this system of restriction, with the following results as regards consumption of spirits:

ANNUAL PER CAPITA CONSUMPTION
OF DISTILLED LIQUOR IN LITERS

1913.....	5.52	1924.....	2.19
1919.....	0.56	1925.....	1.86
1920.....	2.43	1926.....	1.82
1921.....	1.98	1927.....	2.28
1922.....	2.39	1928.....	2.56
1923.....	2.51	1929.....	3.09

The low average for 1919 shows the influence of the war. From 1922 to 1924 a considerable improvement in the condition of the wage earners and in their purchasing power led to a corresponding increase in consumption. Then comes a falling off, followed by a new increase in the last few years. This recent increase is certainly alarming; it may be attributed to the insufficient rate of taxation, pointed out above, and to a more general violation of the law, due to leniency on the part of the authorities. Neither proprietors of licensed premises nor shopkeepers have scruples about selling liquor by the glass, either in their backshops or even over the counter. This violation is practiced es-

pecially in rural districts on a very large scale. On the other hand, a large number of "private" clubs have been opened with a view to evading the law. For a small fee they accept any one as a member and supply liquor and gambling facilities. Although their existence defeats to a certain extent the purpose of the law and certainly accounts largely for the increase in consumption, they cannot be prosecuted under the present legislation and are multiplying rapidly, although their exact number is not known.

In contrast to the increase in consumption the trend of licensed drink shops has been downward:

NUMBER OF DRINK SHOPS

1914.....	202,643	1925.....	111,203
1920.....	152,200	1926.....	106,922
1921.....	135,008	1927.....	104,033
1922.....	120,983	1928.....	102,746
1923.....	117,997	1929.....	101,820
1924.....	113,471		

On the other hand, the number of retail dealers selling liquor in quantities not less than 2 liters has increased from 14,093 in 1921 to 21,559 in 1929, notwithstanding the imposition of a license on these sellers similar to that required from the ordinary licensed premises. Nevertheless, the sanguinary "kermesses" of old are becoming rare; less drunkenness is visible in the streets; the laborers return to work more regularly at the beginning of the week; there are fewer accidents in the streets or at work while under the influence of drink. Finally, the contribution of alcoholic indulgence to insanity, delinquency, vagrancy and begging has been steadily shrinking. Psychiatrists and magistrates agree on this subject. To set forth the most significant statistics:

ALCOHOLIC INSANITY IN BELGIAN HOSPITALS ON DEC. 31

	Men.	Women.	Total.
1913.....	1,369	166	1,535
1914.....	1,756	244	2,000
1920.....	1,085	207	1,292
1921.....	1,102	190	1,292
1922.....	1,175	184	1,359
1923.....	1,199	187	1,386
1924.....	1,226	186	1,412
1925.....	*716	*120	836
1926.....	*696	*96	792
1927.....	*711	*116	827

*Approximate figures.

POPULATION OF "COLONIES DE BIEN-FAISANCE" FOR VAGRANTS AND MENDICANTS

	Men.	Women.	Total.
1913.....	5,187	502	5,689
1919.....	1,320	357	1,677
1920.....	1,577	373	1,950
1921.....	1,852	332	2,184
1922.....	1,890	273	2,163
1923.....	1,732	249	1,981
1924.....	1,708	239	1,947
1925.....	1,840	257	2,097
1926.....	1,947	266	2,213
1927.....	2,159	247	2,406
1928.....	1,901	224	2,125

It should be noted that the amount of vagrancy and begging has fallen to one-third of the pre-war period. The persistent efforts of organizations for social readaptation should not be overlooked in this connection, but the part played by the law of 1919 remains considerable.

The number of convictions for drunkenness in Belgium, which averaged 21,000 in the years immediately preceding the war, has steadily fallen off in the last decade. The latest figures are: 15,383 in 1925, 15,372 in 1926, and 13,850 in 1927. A similar reduction may be observed in the number of acts of violence, such as assault and murder, while theft and swindling are increasing.

In the face of this evidence, what grounds for attack have those who oppose temperance legislation? These opponents are mostly representatives of the liquor trade. They contend that the law of 1919 is unconstitutional and unfair because it violates the principle of equality between all citizens by prohibiting one category, namely, the drink-shop keepers, from selling and storing spirits. It is certainly anomalous to see a shopkeeper, grocer or tobacco dealer permitted to grow rich by the sale of liquor in quantities exceeding two liters at a purchase, while his neighbor, the "licensed purveyor," is deprived of that source of profit. The supporters of the liquor interests point to the infringements of the law as the best evidence of its failure. They ask for a restoration of the pre-war system of liberty, for Liberty is the only goddess they pretend to serve, but

at the same time they advocate the economic check of increasing taxation as a means to defeat the evils of alcoholism—a purpose to which they, at least ostensibly, subscribe.

Unquestionably the present law is imperfect. The infringements to which it gives rise have been emphasized in Parliament by speakers of all shades of opinion. Yet, in spite of its shortcomings, the law has succeeded in bringing about a striking decrease in alcoholism. Alcoholism has actually declined, the drink-shop keepers have to admit, but this, they add, is not due to the law. Other factors have been the sole check. They point to the increased standard of living, the social legislation passed after the war, the eight-hour working day and the development of sport. All this undoubtedly, by giving to the wage earner more leisure time, together with the possibility of employing it in a wholesome way and by enabling him to enjoy more completely the joys of home life, has largely helped to strengthen his self-respect and to keep him away from the public house. But as proof that these measures alone would have been insufficient, one has only to refer to the example of France, where restrictive legislation voted during the war brought about a considerable fall in alcoholic indulgence. After

the armistice, notwithstanding social laws similar to those in Belgium, the repeal of the liquor legislation was immediately followed by a marked increase in alcoholism, which has again risen to its pre-war level.

The commission of inquiry, already mentioned, has just presented to the government a draft of a bill. This bill is far from proposing a régime of absolute liberty of alcoholic consumption. On the contrary, the existing restrictions persist in outline, but it recommends the removal of the principal grievances of the drink-shop keepers: they are to be authorized to keep spirituous liquors on their private premises like any ordinary citizen. The minimum quantity of spirits to be sold for consumption off the premises is to be diminished from 2 to 1½ liters. It is suggested that the license be increased and that the legal penalties for public drunkenness be increased. Finally, the sale or offer of spirituous liquors is to be absolutely forbidden in private clubs.

Thus the fundamental principles of restrictive legislation are recognized as sound by a committee of investigators. While offering some amendments their recommendations follow the lines of the constructive program which has undoubtedly been responsible for the progress of temperance in Belgium.

The Joys and Sorrows of the Mecca Pilgrims

By ARTHUR TORRANCE

FELLOW OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF TROPICAL MEDICINE

IBN SAUD, Arab King, is a popular host to the other half of our world's population, for every year there occurs in the Far East one of the most remarkable migrations of people that the world of travel knows. This is the pilgrimage to Arabia of Mohammedans of the Malay races of the South Philippines, Borneo, Java, Sumatra and the Straits Settlements. This powerful desert sheik of sheiks, in his capacity as the Grand Sherif of Mecca, makes himself responsible for their safety and happiness.

Lying alongside a dock at Singapore one will see when the time comes for the pilgrimage a lowly, unkempt British "tramp" steamer, salt-seamed and smoke-smutty, to which there will slowly lumber a train of bullocks hitched to heavy carts, laden with sacks of rice, casks of water, baggage and Malay pilgrims, ready to embark on the journey across the Indian Ocean. These pilgrims have left their huts, scattered all over bamboo forests and rubber plantations in the Malayan island hinterlands, some of them traveling more than 10,000 miles and spending the savings of a lifetime, to make the pilgrimage coveted of all the faithful.

These Malay Mohammedans represent but a small part of the world-wide annual pilgrimage of Moslems eager to do homage to the Prophet by visiting his birthplace at Mecca and his tomb at Medina. Each year some 45,000 Melanesians gather together from the East Indian archipelago, with some 20,000 natives of British India, from Bangalore, Bombay and Karachi, and, after passing through the quarantine station at Kamaran, join the throng of

a quarter of a million from Egypt, Syria, Turkey and countries along the Mediterranean, coming in by way of Tor on the Gulf of Suez, and journey together along the historic pilgrim road where uncounted generations of Mohammedans have laboriously plodded to the shrine of their faith, the holy city of Mecca.

It is estimated by recent authority that nearly 250,000 human beings find their worshipful way to Mecca every year. After the Arab revolt of 1916-18, the resumption of travel along the Hejaz railway and the settlement of the difficulties between the great Mohammedan princes and the Grand Sherif of Mecca, the number increased until over half a million pilgrims were present at the holy city in 1929.

The pilgrimage is easily the greatest ambition of the Malayan individual. Only a few short years ago, the achievement of having accomplished the pilgrimage immediately raised the fortunate devotee to a place of high rank among the councilors of his community. Indeed, it is still an essential qualification of the Moros in the Philippines that, in order to take the rank of *Datu*, one's pilgrimage should have been accomplished.

On one of these long journeys on a British freighter I was one of the accompanying doctors. Twelve hundred souls of many tongues took possession of the vessel, erecting their own cabins with the aid of matting and bamboo, and cooking their own food throughout the voyage. The exigencies of travel are so great that these pilgrims have to carry with them at the start sufficient food and water to last during the return trip. To provide for this



A busy thoroughfare in Mecca, which has exceptionally wide streets for an Oriental city

human cargo, all the space between decks ordinarily used for carrying freight had been limewashed, and sun awnings were spread over the whole ship. On the main deck along the port side had been erected wood stoves and deck houses for culinary purposes. The ship allowed each pilgrim three sticks of wood and one gallon of water a day. These necessities were very carefully rationed out daily by the ship's purser. On the starboard side were erected toilet and washroom accommodations. Hospital facilities were improvised by turning the ship's carpenter shop over to the ship's doctor, who, with his assistants, took the precaution to vaccinate all who came aboard to conform to government regulations.

It is an extraordinary and interesting sight to watch these people make themselves at home on board a ship for the thirty-day voyage to Jeddah. Families and parties segregate themselves and endeavor to settle down. Some, of

course, are seasick, but others keep busy entrenching themselves behind their *barang* (baggage) of water-boxes and numerous sacks of rice, strings of cocoanut and dried fish. Many of the pilgrims take as much water as possible with them. Until a season ago water was so scarce that it was necessary to take water all the way from the Straits Settlements, a distance of over 5,000 miles, to Mecca. The Arabs used to charge as much as \$2 for a gasoline tin of water. However, the pilgrims now find at Jeddah and Mecca that condensers have been built, and the water, though not plentiful, is sufficient.

As soon as the families had marked out their own areas, much as if they were staking a claim, they enclosed themselves behind curtains of bamboo matting, and in a couple of days the place could not be recognized as a ship. From the bridge it looked like a native village packed with miniature native huts. During the greater part of the day the natives are hidden in these "dug-outs," and hardly ever are seen, except when they come up twice a day to cook their meals, and in the evening, when they get together in groups on the ship's hatches for prayer. The place above deck then is bedlam.

At sundown the pilgrims congregate in groups, usually of fifty or more, while here and there smaller groups of two and three are seen gathered together, and in many places over the ship pilgrims alone are praying and chanting the litany of the Koran, while reverently prostrating themselves in worship, with faces turned to the setting sun, far off on the western horizon.

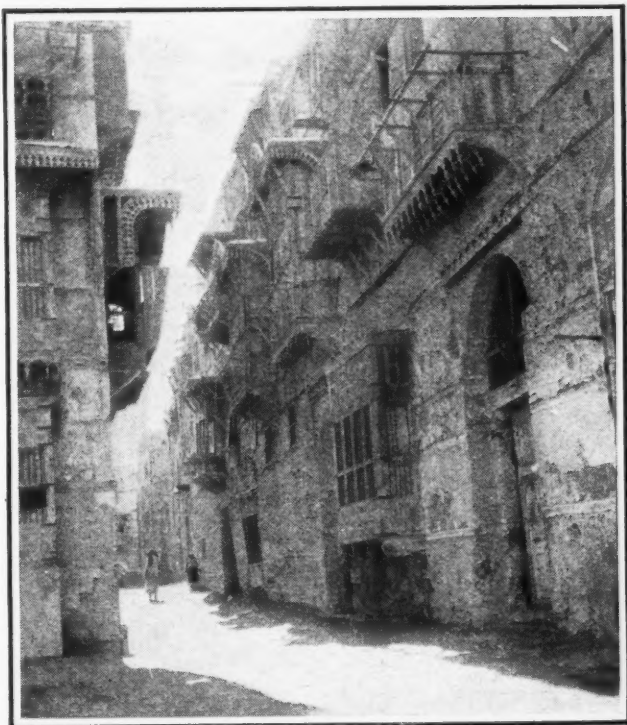
zon. On the occasional days when clouds darkened the sky and mist obscured the sun, they would always make sure of their position by inquiring of the officer of the watch if the course had been changed and whether the west was still ahead.

Even at sea we did not get away from the ordinary vicissitudes of life. The morning after leaving Singapore the first death of a pilgrim occurred, and eleven times on the voyage across the Indian Ocean the ship was rung to slow speed for the solemn ceremony of a funeral at sea. There were in all twelve deaths, with eleven burials at sea and one ashore at Colombo. For these deaths, however, there was the compensation of a similar number of births aboard ship. Proud were the happy mothers; and fortunate indeed were the dusky youngsters who commenced their lives while on *Hadj* (the pilgrimage to Mecca). No more auspicious circumstance could overtake a Mohammedan baby. It immediately became a *Hadji* (the Arabic name for those who complete the pilgrimage), and was so inducted into the religious life. There was also the interesting occurrence of a marriage aboard ship the evening before arriving at Jeddah. The blushing bride was a wrinkled-faced old lady of uncertain 50, and the stalwart groom was a veteran of nearly 60 years.

Before entering Arabia, the pilgrims are debarked at Kamaran, the quarantine station for Mecca, where they are passed through a bath and supplied with clothes for the night. Their own clothes meanwhile are passed through an autoclave of formalin solution and steam at

118 degrees pressure. After bathing and the return of their cleansed clothes they are escorted to spacious and wholesomely clean buildings in a large enclosed camp and left free for the night's rest.

When Jeddah, the seaport of Mecca, was sighted, the pilgrims aboard could hardly contain themselves for joy and excitement. The ship thrilled with *Hadji* exhilaration as they swarmed to the rails and up the masts and derricks to get a better view of the gateway to their promised land. From the outer harbor the visitor sees a silver city hanging from an emblazoned blue sky. The Moorish architecture of the white buildings caught the reflection of the early sun and dazzled with brightness; the crescent arrangement of the Arab homes along the coast and the signet cluster of government buildings and consular headquarters flying their national flags all presented a magnificent sight.



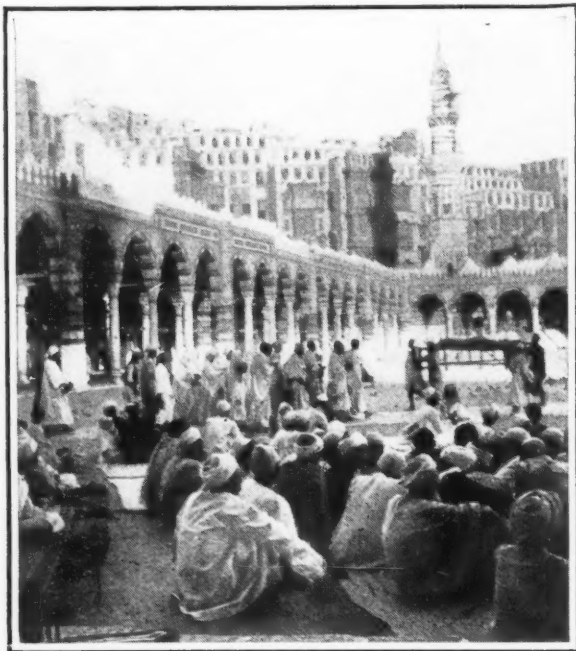
The houses on this typical street in Mecca are built as high as five and six stories

As soon as the pilgrim ship anchors the port officials come aboard, and if their inspection finds "all well" the ship is declared free and the pilgrims are allowed to make arrangements for landing. This is done under the strict supervision of King Saud's officers. The passengers make arrangements with Arab sailors and contract for the use of one of the dhows (Arab sailing boats) which by now are swarming about the vessel, and get their multitudinous baggage ashore. Needless to say, a state of bedlam prevails during the excitement of disembarkation. But under Saud's régime the transfer to shore is done safely, as the reception arrangements in the port of Jeddah and at Mecca are now properly organized. A few years ago the pilgrims would land under no official supervision and would find themselves at the mercy of most unscrupulous Arabs in the dhows, which they were obliged to take in order to get from ship to shore, or, immediately upon landing,

of murderous-looking and piratically inclined Arabian rogues. In those days hundreds of pilgrims would immediately find themselves stranded without food or money and their baggage all stolen, while many who resisted would be murdered. The journey across the forty miles of sand to Mecca would be a race for life. The Bedouin tribesmen constantly raided the caravans, and the whole Arabian population looked upon the pilgrim as legitimate exploitation. Now the pilgrims are under protection from the time they land until they sail away. As far as possible they are kept in the same party. Every group is assigned a special guide, who is a government employe and whose duty it is to escort his group to Mecca, from Mecca to Medina, and finally back to Jeddah.

The pilgrims, on landing, find themselves in a compound, where they must stay until their baggage has been properly checked. It is carefully examined in order to prevent pilgrims from bringing in more food than they need for their own consumption and selling it, or traders coming in under the guise of *Hadjis*. When the *Hadjis* have at length been gathered together and tabulated, they are then escorted by their guides to the gates of the city. Here hundreds of camels are waiting, and, after a few exciting hours of loading, as the dust settles and the camels string out into miles of undulating transport, one sees the last for several months of the shipload of *Hadjis* brought across the sea from far-off Malaya.

To an American the cost of a 6,000-mile trip from Malaya to Mecca and return, about \$350, is a mere pittance, but no American would travel as these Malayans travel. It takes years of sacrifice for these



Pilgrims in the courtyard of the Great Mosque, which is the centre of the *Haram* or sacred territory surrounding Mecca

people, who earn less than \$1 a day.

A recent tragedy on one of the pilgrim vessels gives a bitterly vivid picture of the risks which these travelers will undergo. A steamer with 1,500 Moslem pilgrims aboard, bound for Mecca, burst into flame in the harbor of Jeddah, and it was reckoned that 100 lives were lost. While the rescue work went on, pilgrims knelt on the decks of the boat, praying aloud in unison.

In the Straits Settlements and in Java, as in Egypt and other Mohammedan countries of the Near East, much of the outstanding awe of a *Hadji* has disappeared, although through this part of the Moslem world it is still a most important requisite for the faithful, and the *Hadji* in all Malayan communities is very highly respected and exceedingly envied by his less-fortunate brother, who has not yet been able to save sufficient money for the pilgrimage.

Having accomplished the pilgrimage once, the *Hadji* is entitled to wear a distinguishing fez, which denotes his achievement, and, after accomplishing two or more pilgrimages, the *Hadji* dons the robes and distinguishing colors denoting his rank in the Mohammedan faith, and usually performs the ritual and activities of an elder or Mohammedan priest. Even the disciple who is making the preparations to commence the *Hadji* is especially considered by the neighbors in his community, and, from the day he dons the particular fez indicating that he is about to start his *Hadji*, he is considerably helped by them with gifts for the journey and assistance in getting his *barang* together. A feast is also given in his honor immediately preceding his setting out. Many times a devotee is entrusted with gifts of gold coin, accompanied by written prayers, which he is commissioned to leave at Mecca, the birthplace of the Prophet, or at Medina, the tomb of Mohammed, thereby being of service to his neighbors as an emissary of their loyal faith.

During the difficulties after the Arab revolt of 1917, when the princes of the

Arabian desert were bickering with one another concerning the Caliphate, pilgrimage practically ceased from all over the world. This disagreement was chiefly between Hussein, the recognized Grand Sherif of Mecca, and Ibn Saud, Prince of the volatile Wahabis and Sultan of Nejd, a large territory of many oases in the centre of Arabia to the east of Medina and Mecca.

Ibn Saud, until after the war between him and Hussein, was little known, but he has since become the most colorful, outstanding prince of the Arabian world. In the war Hussein was supported by the British as the paramount prince of Arabia, and was kept in power in Mecca. After the war, and the loss of the guardianship of Mecca by the Sultan of Turkey, Hussein assumed the office and title of Caliph. Ibn Saud, the leader of the Wahabis, who are flaming enthusiasts for the literal interpretation of the Koran's precepts, was angered by the régime of extortion in Mecca. He embarked on a crusade against Hussein, very quickly overwhelming his enemy and becoming master of Mecca. His was the genius of a surpassing leader. By the very flame of his enthusiasm for literal worship, he set the desert on fire in a revival of religion.

That the revival of faith in Mohammed is world-wide is evidenced by the legions of pilgrims who are invading the holy city with increasing numbers every year. Ibn Saud is a leader who will undoubtedly hold his prestige for many years to come.

The *Hadji* in former days before the organized commercial plan was adopted was indeed deserving of the prize of chieftainship that he received when the pilgrimage was accomplished. Then but one started to the 10,000 that start now, and but one in twenty achieved the journey. Now it is largely a matter of saving the necessary money and journeying in comparative comfort, whereas in the days before the war, and for almost ages before, the native was a devotee in deed and purpose who set out as a wayfarer, trusting in the will of Allah alone to protect him.

Canada's Cooperation in Prohibition Enforcement

By R. L. JONES

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH

THE EXPORTATION of liquor from Canada to the United States became illegal on May 30, when royal assent was given to the liquor clearance act. This was the culmination of nearly a decade of negotiations between the two countries.

The Canadian Government had hesitated to agree to regulations to suppress the traffic, which is entirely legal in Canada and has been very lucrative. In 1927 the total value of lawful whisky exports reached \$18,713,000, of which \$16,149,000 came to the United States; in 1928 the total value was \$21,485,000 of which \$18,380,000 came to America; in 1929 the total was \$24,132,000, and \$18,112,000 came to the United States. The exchequer received from the liquor sent to America in 1927 \$8,100,000; in 1928, \$9,139,500; in 1929, \$8,526,000. Any interference with the system which introduced this vast sum of money into the Provinces and increased the national revenue was not popular.

When the Eighteenth Amendment and the prohibition laws went into operation Canadians neither understood nor approved the experiment. Smuggling across the international line sprang up immediately, and the customs and traditions on both sides enhanced the extreme difficulties inherent in the effort to suppress the traffic. It proved impossible for the American authorities to cope with the situation without cooperation from across the border. As a result the State Department took up the matter, and early in 1923 explained the inconvenience encountered in dealing with this particular activity. Canada was asked to cancel the British registry of vessels proved to be property of citizens of the United States

used for smuggling liquor, and further that ships with such cargoes be refused clearance for American ports.

This effort did not meet with immediate success, since Canada was reluctant to place further restrictions upon her commerce. About a month later the attention of the Canadian Government was called to the added burden experienced by American enforcement agents from the clearance for the United States of motor boats with cargoes of liquor. Since the importation of alcohol into the country was unlawful, it was thought that the Canadian authorities might be disposed to deny administrative sanction to vessels engaged in the traffic. But the exportation of spirituous liquors from the Dominion was not prohibited by law, and clearance could not be refused to a ship with such a cargo regardless of the port for which it was bound.

The persistence of the State Department led the Prime Minister finally to ask that a mission be sent to Ottawa to discuss methods of preventing wholesale liquor importation from the Provinces. He suggested that the meeting take place after the adjournment of Parliament. In Washington this was regarded as an indication of a desire for procrastination, because it was well known that America's wishes could not be met without legislative action. Nevertheless, the invitation was accepted, since the Canadian Government had repeatedly proclaimed a willingness to aid.

Washington wished Ottawa to assist in preventing the exportation of liquor into the States, but the Prime Minister had no such idea in mind when he mentioned a conference. The preliminaries

were intricate and tedious. It was not until late in the year that the conference opened, and then was much broader in scope than originally intended by Ottawa. The United States desired a discussion of the whole question of commercial smuggling. When the delegates met, the request that clearance be denied to ships with cargoes of liquor destined for American ports was renewed. The privilege to seize and search craft engaged in illicit traffic on the Great Lakes, and regulations to force all vessels to proceed to the port for which they cleared, were sought. In the case of boats of less than 250 tons carrying liquor, an absolute refusal of clearance regardless of the destination shown in their papers was asked. Methods of furnishing information concerning the clearing of all vessels with cargoes prohibited by law from entering the other country were suggested. To check overland smuggling it was thought that Canadian officials should report to American authorities all shipments by land or air. An arrangement for the extradition of persons accused of violating the liquor laws was also broached. These ideas, with permission to ship intoxicants from one Canadian port to another across American territory, it was proposed to incorporate in a convention. The Canadian Government could not accept the terms without Parliamentary authorization, which was regarded as unlikely, as the public had little sympathy for the American position. The conference resulted in little increased cooperation.

On Jan. 30, 1924, inspectors of the Quebec Liquor Commission and American officials again met in a futile effort to work out plans for combating local rum-runners.

The State Department had concluded that conferences could never settle the trouble. Therefore, as soon as the twelve-mile treaty with Great Britain was signed on Jan. 24, 1924, the United States sought to have its terms approved by Canada, and on March 21 the House of Commons adopted a resolution approving them. There were, however, questions for the consideration of

Canada and the United States not covered by the provisions of that treaty. Negotiations were soon under way and on June 6, 1924, a convention was signed. Its general objects were suppression of smuggling operations along the border, assistance in the arrest and prosecution of persons violating the narcotic laws and provisions for the omission of penalties for the transportation of liquor through Alaska into the Yukon territory. Each government promised to furnish information, upon request of the other, concerning the clearance of vessels or transportation of cargoes when their importation was taxed or forbidden by the other. Clearance was to be denied ships carrying cargoes of prohibited commodities when there was evidence that they did not intend to proceed to their proposed destination. The exchange of information as to the names and activities of subjects of either country suspected of being engaged in the violation of the narcotic laws of the other was to be furnished upon request. Administrative officers were to attend as witnesses or furnish documentary evidence in cases arising under the treaty. The United States agreed to permit liquor to pass through its territory on the way from one point in Canada to another, provided it be kept under seal and no part be unloaded in transit. The convention was proclaimed on July 17, 1925.

False billing of liquor now rapidly increased. Enforcement officers at eastern points began systematically to hold up shipments from Canada in order to make more thorough inspections. An appeal was made to the railroads to cooperate in checking illicit importation, but as this did not have the desired effect the roads were informed that, unless false billing of liquor was stopped, all traffic across the border would be subjected to rigorous investigation. This would have seriously hampered legitimate commerce, and the Minister for Railways and Canals proposed an amendment to the railway act which he thought would enable the authorities to suppress false billing. Arthur Meighen, former Prime Minis-



—The Sun, Baltimore

"STOP! LITTLE BIRDIES"

One view of Canada's attitude on rum-running

ter and Conservative leader, urged the adoption of an act fixing a penalty for rum-running, but no law was passed. The threat, however, was sufficient to drive smugglers to less simple devices.

Neither government was satisfied with the working of the convention. America repeatedly complained of its lack of effectiveness and urged alterations; Canada hesitated to make further concessions and feared that Washington was over-emphasizing its needs. Therefore, early in 1926, the House of Commons determined to investigate the matter. After an inquiry lasting four months, a committee reported the existence of a common practice of granting clearance to vessels loaded with liquor for the United States or allegedly bound for a foreign port, but admittedly des-

tined for American consumption. It also found that false landing certificates were in use to obtain cancellation of bonds given for foreign export of cargoes. The committee was convinced that part of the liquor thus shipped found its way back into the country. To prevent this it was recommended that excise and sales taxes be levied on all Canadian-made spirits released from bond, and duty and sales taxes be levied on all alcoholic beverages entering the country irrespective of their ultimate destination. It was further recommended that rules be adopted forbidding clearance to vessels carrying liquor as cargo sailing from a Canadian to a United States port.

Meanwhile, during the two years preceding, there were protracted negotiations between the United States, the British and the Canadian Governments for further strengthening the convention, which finally culminated on July 19, 1927, in an application by the Royal Commission to the American State Department for information on consular agents and consular certificates on invoices, ports of entry, methods of appraisal, refusal of export privilege except to authorized purchasers, and the operation of the treaty for the suppression of smuggling. The department, anxious for any cooperation, invited the commissioners to Washington for consultation.

The conference was held on Aug. 29 and 30, 1927. The American method of dealing with the liquor question was explained fully. Both governments, it was suggested, should maintain customs stations on the principal highways immediately adjacent to the international boundary. Reference was made to instances in which the treaty

had failed to prevent smuggling, particularly at Detroit, Cleveland and other points on the Great Lakes where Canadian officers failed to furnish information regarding clearances or supplied unreliable data. To correct this the prevention of the clearance of vessels from Canadian ports was urged when it was obvious the liquor on boats was intended for the United States. It was known that 62 per cent of the total value of alcoholic beverages exported from Canada in 1924 came to the United States, and this rose until 1927 when 91 per cent of the total was received. In the latter year the rate of increase had fallen below that of the three previous years, and the State Department was convinced that the treaty could be made effective if measures were taken to prevent illegal registration under the Canadian flag and to secure the extradition of persons who violated the customs laws of either country. The report of the Royal Commission, dated Oct. 15, 1927, agreed entirely with the earlier recommendation of the special committee of the House of Commons and stated that the treaty could be made effective by prohibiting clearances to vessels or vehicles which were carrying liquor to the United States, contrary to the laws of that country.

Mr. Phillips, the American Minister, asked the Canadian Government if it would not be agreeable to hold further conversations during the first week of January, 1929. To this Canada agreed, but public opposition made it inexpedient to discuss the question of extradition of rum-runners, and this suggestion was not pressed.

The conference was held in Ottawa on Jan. 8-10, 1929. The American delegates explained the importance of discontinuing the practice of clearing liquor

from Canadian to United States ports. They outlined what was being done for the enforcement of prohibition and pointed out the impossibility of controlling the movement of small, speedy craft across water only a mile in width. They asked the Canadian delegation to report to its government that in the opinion of the United States nothing short of the discontinuance of clearance or other official documents permitting the exportation from Canada to the United States of goods the importation of which was illegal could really deal with the problem, or would be of any help in preventing further development of unfavorable conditions along the border.

Although the Canadian delegates were willing to issue more stringent regulations under the existing treaty, they foresaw difficulties in any attempt to refuse to allow liquor to be cleared from Canada to the United States. They promised, however, to lay the American proposal before their government.

The Canadian Government felt that



—Columbus Enquirer-Sun

The Canadian Re-Mounted Police

the problem might in large measure be solved by an extension of the system of furnishing information of liquor shipments. In order "to cooperate with and assist further the Government of the United States in the effective enforcement of its laws," Canada was prepared to permit American officers stationed on its side of the border to transmit immediately to the United States information furnished by the Canadian customs officials as clearances were granted to vessels carrying liquor cargoes. This proposal was conveyed to the American Legation at Ottawa on March 15, 1929, but it was declined because the necessary data to identify the vessels engaged in the illicit traffic had not been available, as the statements furnished to the port authorities were in most cases fictitious. The American Government remained convinced that the only effective means of dealing with the traffic was the conclusion of a treaty amending the convention of June 6, 1924, so that clearance would be denied to shipments of commodities from their country when their importation was prohibited by the other, but this was not acceded to.

The American authorities then began to seek other remedies. They returned to an earlier idea to reduce the number of ports of entry, and late in the year Under Secretary of the Treasury Mills

announced the incorporation of the principle in a feasible plan. But early in January a different scheme was divulged—namely, to increase the ports from 100 to 600, and to unify the enlarged enforcement agencies in order to prevent entrance to or exit from the country except at the designated points. Before the plan could be put into effect the cooperation of the Dominion had to be obtained, for it was necessary to agree where the ports of entry would be established. The Canadian Government had heretofore steadily refused to adopt measures designed to accomplish the same end, but on Jan. 8 it was announced that to prevent armed men from being massed on the border the government would yield and bring in an act to prevent the clearance of liquor for the United States. Accordingly, a bill embodying such provision was introduced into the House of Commons and before the end of May had passed both Commons and Senate. What effect the new act will have on liquor-running between the two countries cannot be prophesied, but the Ottawa Government has ordered the closing of two great liquor warehouses at Vancouver by June 11; others will doubtless meet the same fate. The whole episode is evidence of Canada's readiness to meet the wishes of the United States.

Transforming the American College System

By ARTHUR E. MORGAN

PRESIDENT, ANTIOCH COLLEGE

AMERICAN HIGHER education began with the liberal college. Organized to train for the ministry, law or medicine, college became the door for youth into a larger world. Beginning in Massachusetts with Harvard and in Virginia with William and Mary, the impetus spread toward the West, following the frontier. Youth from farms and small towns went to the nearest college, lived hard, and studied subjects often better suited to medieval Europe than to young America. While higher education in Europe was for professional training or for the purpose of perpetuating the traditional culture of cultivated classes, here from raw human material it made the first generations of educated and cultivated Americans.

Most early American colleges began as church institutions but gradually came to represent universal human culture. After the privately endowed liberal college came the State university, the first appearing in Michigan. The State universities have found place for almost every conceivable educational interest, from Sanskrit and vector analysis to millinery and bee-keeping. Schools of law, medicine, engineering, chemistry, architecture, aeronautics, business, pharmacy and nursing find support and students. The State university has become the intellectual clearing-house of the Commonwealth. Charging low tuition, accepting all standard high-school graduates who apply, and offering many extension and short courses, these institutions cater to mass democracy.

Nowadays nearly every large city, if not the seat of a State or endowed institution, maintains a municipal univer-

sity, endowed or publicly supported, with a larger enrolment than the State institutions had a generation ago. In addition, some of the larger cities supplement their older, formal institutions with more popular universities of which Boston University, Temple University of Philadelphia and the College of the City of New York are examples. Municipal universities in Cincinnati, Akron, Buffalo, Toledo, Wichita and other cities provide vocational training for young people and adults who could not leave home for college.

Nearly a century ago in Massachusetts Horace Mann established the first teachers' training school, or normal school. Large numbers of such schools have been established since, although most of them have not been centres of scholarship. Recently these training schools have tended to become teachers' colleges, institutions of higher education in the best sense.

About the time normal schools originated, some men began to feel that the liberal arts colleges were failing to promote material development, and therefore established technical schools to meet this need. While these have brought about much of our modern material civilization, cultural and liberal values were largely overlooked and their graduates have remained, on the whole, supercraftsmen and have not become a dominating factor in the management of modern life.

During recent years higher education has been breaking out of bounds. Since the discovery that minds learn faster and remember better at 40 than 15, probably there are more men and women in America today engaged in some form of adult education than there are

regular students in all our conventional colleges and universities. Cleveland College furnishes a good example of adult education. Organized about four years ago, it now has more than 7,000 students in day and evening courses with a wide range of interests, both practical and cultural. Such an institution must materially affect the general quality of citizenship.

The capstone of our educational system is the university graduate school. Here creative thinkers extend the frontiers of human knowledge, and here, too, uninspired plodders after doctors' degrees grind out perfunctory theses, "striving to know more and more about less and less, until they know everything about nothing."

This enormous and varied growth in institutions of higher education has been largely haphazard and unorganized.

Every one knows that higher education is in distress, and on every hand we see valiant efforts to correct specific faults. Some institutions, of which Dartmouth is an example, make careful studies of the health of their students. Others, like Princeton and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, endeavor to humanize technical and professional courses by introducing liberal studies. Johns Hopkins and Stanford, in an effort to save the students' time, take an opposite course, and by eliminating two years of college after the manner of Europe, reduce the liberal element in higher education. Others, including Swarthmore, strive by "honors courses" to replace perfunctory study with a passion for scholarship. A growing number of institutions, of which the University of Cincinnati was a pioneer, supplement classroom and laboratory study with practical experience in technical courses. Dr. Meiklejohn's experiment in the University of Wisconsin was a new approach to liberal scholarship by replacing isolated courses with a study of an entire civilization as a unit. Columbia is foremost of many institutions striving to give the students a birdseye view of the

world through "orientation courses." Princeton and Harvard undertake to give students individual attention through preceptorial and tutorial methods. Some institutions, like Oberlin, strive to improve the standard college job through detailed improvements of methods and constant striving for greater thoroughness and finer quality.

It is quite customary at present, however, for an institution seeking a larger place in the sun or for a new president wanting to establish himself and his institution in public esteem to cast about for some educational reform which can be featured. Many such innovations are carried through with honest purpose and considerable skill in response to real needs. Many of the results are good. The more wideawake colleges and universities watch each other, compare notes, imitate and adopt methods of promise and improve their technique.

In some quarters a more orderly process is followed. Several State universities have organized departments of research which undertake, point by point, to study prevailing methods. Minnesota State University has been a leader in this movement, and Ohio and Iowa State universities and Columbia are doing good work. The Carnegie Corporation has made an exhaustive study of the problem of college athletics and also an interesting piece of work on the effect of teaching in Pennsylvania colleges. Many of the State and regional college associations are attacking problems of higher education in a scientific manner.

While higher education is studying its processes, certain deep currents are settling in which may be revolutionary. For instance, there is the junior college, perhaps the most disturbing element in the present situation. More than a hundred of these have been established in recent years and more will follow. They receive boys and girls after two years of high school and carry them through two years of college. From that point many students are disinclined to go to a liberal college

and turn instead to the university or technical school.

Some educators go so far as to say that the liberal college will eventually become obsolete. The elimination of the first two years of college at Stanford and Johns Hopkins universities might be cited as at least a partial substantiation of this contention. Directly contrary to this influence is the tendency of professional schools continually to increase their preliminary requirements so that the colleges are caught in a maze of their prerequisites. Both these tendencies help to restrict the time available for a liberal education, so that the average college graduate lacks development of many potential interests.

The welter of confusion in which higher education now finds itself is due to the fact that in the enormous elaboration and rapid changes of modern life the method of imitation and adaptation breaks down. With almost infinite possibilities of choice and with many unprecedented conditions the "cut and try" method seldom results in a finely proportioned whole.

Higher education must adopt the method of science and must make a fundamental analysis of its whole purpose, aim, and method—an appraisal of the fundamental needs of men and of the possible resources for fulfilling them. It must then design, as engineers designed the first automobile, such an assemblage of methods and resources as will best fulfill that purpose.

Antioch College, at Yellow Springs, Ohio, illustrates an endeavor to originate such a program. After the problem had been studied for more than twenty years the present program was formulated. It maintains that nearly all normal young men and women of college calibre have certain basic needs to be met, certain qualities of personality which need to be developed, certain almost universal opportunities and responsibilities to prepare for; the college or university should provide for them all. *The function of the college or university is to stimulate*



Times Wide World

ARTHUR E. MORGAN

the development, in good proportion, of all important elements of personality and to help young men and women to be prepared to meet all of the nearly universal demands and opportunities of life. This is a radical and novel aim and in its execution overruns and upsets conventional programs in every direction.

The first novel element is that of inclusiveness. Nothing that is important to young men and women of college calibre is outside the proper program of the college. Liberal education, vocational guidance, professional training, health and physical development, adjustment to practical life, the development of self-knowledge, self-reliance and practical judgment, the development of social and moral standards, the winning of an adequate life purpose—all are its proper concerns.

The next characteristic of this program is its insistence upon good proportion. It cannot be satisfied with the culturally educated man or woman who

finds himself without a calling nor with the technically trained person who lacks a liberal education. Neither can it be satisfied with either of these if they neglect a tempering to real life and the development of sound practical judgment. A good balance of personal development will give life stability, poise and interest, and will provide the best background for successful specialization.

The Antioch program takes account of the physical life of the student. Thorough periodical physical examinations of every student, special attention to defects, instruction in health, development of sports, and the inculcation of health habits for everyone are characteristic. In the conventional college, athletics are entirely out of proportion to their proper place in higher education, many students acting as onlookers while a few specialists make sports a dominant issue for themselves and the college. Antioch has eliminated harmful overemphasis of college athletics, and nearly every one takes a normal part.

There is also concern for the development of economic judgment. Through a study of personal, family and business budgeting; by courses in economics; by preparing a personal budget and endeavoring to live by it, and by experience in earning money and partly paying his way the student is helped to put his economic life in order and so to free his time and energies for other interests.

Each student gives a third of his college time to cultural interests. An introduction to the study of the physical and biological sciences, of literature, history, economics and philosophy will give interest, purpose and power to life. There is, however, provision for specialization. In some field of his choice a student should develop the mastery and skill which are necessary for creative achievement, and therefore a third or more of his time at college is given to some "field of concentration." But classroom and laboratory do not suffice to prepare a man for living. Much of the art of living can

be learned only in real life. Antioch students spend half their time at college and half at practical work. Two students fill one position alternately in five-week periods; while one works the other studies. Antioch students, both men and women, are in stores, offices, banks, architects' studios, scientific laboratories, schools, factories, newspapers and construction camps. The aim is to develop courage, stamina and judgment; to discover suitable callings and prepare for them; to make desirable associations for after-college work, and to develop economic sense in earning a portion of their college expenses.

Other elements of the program include the displacement of formal recitations by self-directed study, internal economies to save waste of students' time, stimulus to esthetic discrimination, exceptional provision for stimulating love of the out-of-doors and of natural beauty, and, finally, effort to help the student to make an orderly plan and program for his life.

Throughout the whole undertaking there is an effort to become aware of *all* the fundamental needs of men and women, to make the student ready for life in every important respect, and always to strive for a sense of proportion so that the student will not carry some interests so far that he forgets others equally important and so reduce the total value of his life. The results indicate that young Americans of quality appreciate a program based upon their fundamental needs. After nine years of the program, Antioch graduates are demonstrating its effectiveness, and employers in a dozen States seek Antioch part-time students.

This program is subject to many modifications and improvements. Yet it is safe to say that the great need of American higher education at present is the achievement of proportion and perspective. Its chief products should be, not courses nor technical or professional skill, but well-developed and finely proportioned men and women. Of such is a good society made.

The Bolsheviks as Humorists

By LEO M. GLASSMAN

IN THE PAST few years the literal-minded Russian people have been showing signs of a new or perhaps latent talent, namely, a sense of humor. The intelligentsia, which for decades fought heroically in the cause of Russian liberation only to find itself swept aside ruthlessly by the revolution of its own making, has resorted to anecdotes and jokes at the expense of the Soviet Government as a means of easing its sense of frustration. The general public on the other hand turned to the same medium as an emotional recompense for the feeling of disillusionment and futility which followed the revolution. After terrible years of war, revolution, counter-revolution, civil war, famine and disease, the newly acquired sense of humor has served in some measure to mitigate a most appalling sense of despair.

Satire became the fashion in the early days of the revolution when Karl Radek (one of Lenin's chief aides, who was later exiled for being an adherent of Trotsky) acquired the reputation of inventing at least one good story at the expense of the revolution every day. Since then a large crop of clever newspaper columnists has sprung up, the most conspicuous among them being Mikhail Koltzov of *Pravda*, the leading Communist organ in Moscow. It is noteworthy, however, that the most popular stories have emanated from the ranks of the Oppositionists, the Trotskyists and the Right Wingers, who never miss an opportunity of taking a fling at the present dictatorship. Since the censor's lid is clamped down tight on any opinions adverse to the existing régime, these heretical stories are necessarily spread by word of mouth, from friend to friend, in a sort of "whispering campaign."

The political jokes that are current today in Soviet Russia run into the thousands. In Moscow a young man has

been compiling a private anthology of Soviet anecdotes since the beginning of the revolution in 1917. His collection comprises five good-sized volumes by now, and he is still writing. The future historian of the Soviet revolution will undoubtedly find in these volumes as much enlightenment as in official documents and statistics, for in this material is vividly depicted the drama of the Russian revolution, with its pathos, tragedy and humor.

The new codes of law and social life introduced by the Soviet régime resulted in a flood of jokes and songs, satirizing every phase of the new order. The Soviet system of easy marriage and divorce inspired this little song:

Today I am not yours,
Today I am Yessenin's,
Today I belong to Yessenin
By a decree of Lenin.

I am in love with Kalinin,
Of that I am certain,
And by radio I'll send him
A declaration of my love.

Convinced beyond doubt
Am I of my beauty;
If Trotsky refuses
I'll marry Chicherin.

The sudden appearance of Communist groups distinguishable by their dress and their mannerisms, for instance, Soviet officials, experts and youth organizations, brought forth such lines as these:

No stockings, an abbreviated dress,
If you please—a Komsomolka*;
A pencil behind the ear,
If you please—an engineer;
Dirt under the fingernails,
If you please—an agriculturist.

A similar tone of derision pervaded numerous songs about Lenin and Trotsky, for to the Russian worker and peasant the assumption of dictatorial powers by two Socialists seemed the

* Member of the Youth Organization.

height of absurdity. One of these songs goes:

Lenin rides on a pig,
Trotsky on a dog;
But the Communists looked
And thought those were Cossacks.

About the summary actions of the secret police, the Cheka, in the early days of the revolution there is this bit of satire:

The little rooster was boiled, even broiled,
Yet, strange though it seem, he wanted
to live;
But they caught and arrested him
And sternly demanded: Your passport,
please!

He pleaded, I am neither Cadet nor
Trotskyist;

I swear I am really a People's Commissar.
But they said: Your passport is not Bol-
shevitsky,

It looks like some other kind of "itsky"!
And so the poor little rooster was shot.

Even Communists indulge in the telling of "illicit" jokes. There are stories about the bread lines; about the inefficiency of Soviet officials; about Stalin, the Dictator, and about the much-feared political police known as the GPU, successors of the dreaded Cheka.

Visitors returning from Russia are often asked: "Is it true that everybody in Soviet Russia is being shadowed by the GPU?" Replies are always conflicting, but the Russians themselves tell the following story: A certain citizen of Moscow wanted to give a party at his home to celebrate his tenth wedding anniversary. In order to avoid suspicion, he drew up a list of his proposed guests and took it to the head of the GPU, saying: "Comrade inspector, I am planning to give a party at my home tomorrow night. But in order that you may not suspect me of hatching a counter-revolutionary plot, I have brought you a list of my guests. And to convince you further of my good intentions, I extend an invitation to you or to any one else on your staff to come to the party as my guest." The GPU inspector scanned the list and said: "Comrade, your invitation is unnecessary. You have eight of our men on your list already."

When it became known in Moscow that Stalin was planning to exile Trot-

sky, the following anecdote gained currency among the people: It was said that Mme. Krupskaya, Lenin's widow, whose voice in Soviet councils has been insignificant since Lenin's death, denounced Stalin's plan as outrageous. Stalin listened calmly to her outburst and then is said to have replied with the brutality supposed to be characteristic of him: "Look here, old hag, if you don't shut your mouth and keep your nose out of this, I shall appoint a new widow to Lenin!"

There are many stories about Trotsky which give a clue to the attitude of the Russian people toward this fallen hero of the Bolshevik revolution. Though it is true that he has comparatively few adherents for his theories in Russia, he is regarded with almost universal admiration for his personal qualities and his tremendous achievements in the cause of the revolution. After he was exiled by Stalin this story was told: A man goes to Red Square in Moscow to witness the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the revolution. Trotsky, seated on a beautiful charger, reviews the Red Army as it files past. The man is so much stirred by the sight of the great commander-in-chief of the proletarian fighting forces that he exclaims: "What a wonderful General!" The following year the same man again goes to Red Square to see the celebration. This time Trotsky is not there; he has been exiled. His place is taken by Voroshilov, whose personality stands no comparison with the brilliant Trotsky. Voroshilov is seated on Trotsky's magnificent charger. This time the man exclaims: "What a beautiful horse!"

When it became known that Kemal Pasha was loath to admit Trotsky into Turkey and that no other country wanted him, Moscovites related this story: Trotsky, while promenading through the streets of Alma-Ata (the place of his exile), loses his handkerchief. A passerby picks it up, runs after Trotsky and gives it to him. Whereupon Trotsky bows to the ground three times and thanks the man most pro-

fusely. The latter, greatly amazed, asks: "But Comrade Trotsky, why do you thank me so profusely? This is but a mere handkerchief, an insignificant thing." Trotsky replies: "Insignificant? Why, quite the contrary. Do you realize that today this is the only place where I can stick my nose?"

Concerning the Communist belief that a world revolution is imminent is the following bit of satire: A man stands in Red Square right in front of the Kremlin, blowing away on a trumpet for all he is worth. A passer-by, whose curiosity is aroused by this strange performance, asks the trumpeter what it is all about. He is told: "I am announcing the coming of the world revolution." The passer-by then asks: "Really? Do you get much money for it?" Whereupon the trumpeter replies: "No, there isn't much money in it, but then, it is a permanent job."

That the almost universal esteem accorded the memory of Lenin does not extend to the living leaders in the Kremlin is shown by this riddle:

"Why is there such a thick wall around the Kremlin?" "So that scoundrels may not look through." "From within?"

Russians who have been unable to adjust themselves to the Soviet system like to illustrate their difficulties with the following anecdote: A man belonging to the dispossessed bourgeoisie is arrested. The judge examines him: "How old are you?" "Twenty-five." "When were you born?" "In 1893."

"That makes you 36 years old. Why did you say 25?" "Do you call the last eleven years living?"

Those who have been in Soviet Russia and have tried to buy things in the government stores will be able to appreciate the point of this story:

One day in Moscow a Russian friend called on me and said: "We are going to have a fifteen-story department store in Moscow. It will be the largest department store in Russia, but only one person will be required to work there!" "How is that," I asked. "Very simple. A man will stand at the en-

trance and turn everybody away, saying: 'No goods, no goods.'"

The truth of this satire was brought home to me the afternoon I spent making the rounds of the cooperatives and department stores in Moscow in an effort to buy a decent handkerchief. My quest proved futile until I found some in the little stall of a nepman (private trader) right across from the headquarters of the GPU. On another occasion, an American friend in Moscow scoured the whole city in a vain effort to buy an ordinary needle; there was not one to be had.

Another story on the same subject goes like this: A Jew enters a government grocery and asks for butter. On being told there is none he says, "Devil take them!" He asks for eggs and gets the same reply. "Devil take them!" he repeats. He asks for sugar; there is no sugar either. "Devil take them!" he says again. The clerk, becoming incensed, exclaims: "Do you realize you can be arrested for denouncing the Soviet Government?" "But I am denouncing the Czar for not having left us enough provisions to last us eleven years."

In March, 1929, a story became current in Moscow in connection with the British business men's delegation which was visiting Russia to study the possibilities of trade with the Soviet Government. It was said that the leader of the British delegation called on Stalin and asked him what the Soviet Government had to offer as security to British concessionaires.

"We have a great deal of wealth in the ground," Stalin said. "We have oil, iron, coal and gold." "True, but what have you above ground?" "Above ground we have a strong, well-disciplined Communist party and a splendid Communist youth organization." Pondering a moment, the Englishman replied: "I am sorry we cannot do any business, Mr. Stalin. We could if it were the other way around."

Russians, on the other hand, are often amused by the simple-mindedness of many American and English tourists who believe everything they are

told by their official guides and entertainers. They like to tell, for instance, of the tourist who stopped to watch a long bread line in Moscow. He was curious to know what the people were waiting for and why they seemed so impatient, elbowing and pushing forward. When told that "these people are waiting in line to subscribe to the government loan," he was greatly impressed. They also tell about the tourist who was struck by the great learning of some of the laborers he encountered and the doormen and porters at the hotels where he stayed. Hod-carriers spoke several languages, baggagemen discussed philosophy, and so on. This, said the tourist, indicated what vast educational strides had been made in the land of the Soviets. It turned out that these learned laborers were former teachers and professors, members of the intelligentsia before the revolution, who, unable to find employment in their own fields under the new régime, were compelled to become hod-carriers and porters in order to earn their livelihood.

The fall of the Soviet ruble inspired the following joke: The official rate of exchange, resulting from the Soviet

stabilization decree, is 1.94 rubles for the dollar, but outside official sources as high as five to seven rubles for the dollar could be secured. This naturally led to widespread valuta speculation in which many Communists participated. Thus, Russians would say, with a chuckle: "The United States is in a very bad way financially." When asked for an explanation, the answer would be: "Because Americans cannot afford to pay more than two dollars for a chervonetz (ten-ruble note)."

The fact that Stalin and others holding high posts in the Soviet Government are natives of the province of Georgia accounts for the following anecdote: A Georgian bootblack sits at the entrance to the Kremlin. A man approaches and asks for a shoe-shine. The bootblack refuses, saying: "I have no time to bother with shoe-shines. I am waiting here for a political appointment."

Perhaps the most revealing as well as the most pathetic little story is the one about the two women who met on the street one day and stopped to inquire about each other's welfare. "How are you, Marya?" "Better than a month hence."

Rebuilding the Economic Life of Rumania

By FREDERIC A. OGG

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

IF RUMANIA has captured the interest of the American public as has no other State of Southeastern Europe in the last three or four years, the reasons are doubtless to be found in the country's exceptionally dramatic personal and dynastic politics. One spectacular episode has followed another—Prince Carol's renunciation of his succession to the throne, the setting up of a regency for his five-year-old son Michael, Queen Marie's cleverly staged tour of the United States, the protracted illness and death of King Ferdinand, the upsetting of Premier Bratianu and the rise to power of a remarkable peasant party led by today's forceful Premier, Julius Maniu. Interspersed with reports of events like these have been plenty of stories of anti-Jewish demonstrations, marches of discontented countrymen upon the capital, palace intrigues and impending *coups d'état*, to say nothing of the doings of the renegade Crown Prince and his Titian-haired inamorata in foreign parts.

The country itself, however, has been in the meanwhile more or less quietly undergoing a political and economic transformation, calculated to challenge the attention of every observer. The story begins with the World War. In a military way, Rumania's rôle in that struggle was not impressive. Nevertheless, the country emerged twice as large and populous as before, and its post-war problems have been commensurate with its rank as one of the middle-sized States of Europe, as well as with its decidedly strategic position on the checkerboard of international politics. Territorially it is a thoroughly saturated State; there is nothing more for it to seek or claim. But in becoming such it absorbed broad lands with

large non-Rumanian populations, thereby falling heir to troublesome minorities questions; and many of its difficulties in post-war days have sprung from the fact that it is, and must long remain, on the defensive on three diplomatic fronts—the Balkan, the Central European and, most of all, the Russian.

For ten years after the war the country's government was most of the time in the hands of the so-called Liberal party, long and astutely led by Ion Bratianu. The tasks requiring attention were many and vast, and a good deal of useful work was done. Although the ruling party supported the agrarian laws of 1920-21, which undertook to convert the kingdom into a country of peasant proprietors, and sponsored the new national Constitution of 1923, which introduced manhood suffrage, the name "Liberal party" was in reality misleading. Absorbing the remnants of the old Conservative party, which could not live down its pro-German record, it became the party of concentrated wealth and vested interests, whose members were almost to a man strongly conservative, and in many cases frankly reactionary. As the party of big business, it favored indirect rather than direct taxation, insisted upon a high protective tariff, opposed the entry of foreign capital, and, in general, advocated a policy of economic nationalism, which, while no doubt momentarily beneficial to the powerful interests which it represented, operated in practice to deprive the country of foreign financial assistance which it sorely needed and to produce perennial friction with foreign interests and peoples. The Liberal party's stranglehold on the government was, however, next to impossible to break, because, in good Balkan fashion, the

Ministers and their fellow-officeholders "made" the elections, and, by methods familiar to all students of practical politics in that quarter of the world, saw to it that the results were what the party authorities desired.

Manhood suffrage and peasant proprietorship, nevertheless, put a new face on the situation. Moreover, the annexation of Transylvania and Bessarabia brought in millions of new people, mostly peasants, who had little sympathy with the régime at Bucharest. As a result, the Liberal position became steadily more difficult, the

its growing strength, and bent upon capturing full control, the popular party rejected the proposal, and a year later, after further Liberal failure, aggravated by internal dissension, it was rewarded by seeing the Liberals pushed into a position where they simply could not go on, and by an invitation from the regency to Mr. Maniu to form a Ministry. The new Peasant Government promptly held a general election, winning 349 seats in the Chamber, as compared with a pitiful 13 for the Liberals and mere handfuls for a few other groups. The unwritten law of Rumanian



MAP OF RUMANIA

more so by reason of the manifest inability of Bratianu and his supporters to obtain foreign loans and to contrive other arrangements essential to the kingdom's post-war recovery. Step by step the new peasant democracy, ably led by Maniu and welded into the first great popular party that the country had known, grew more articulate, and when, in November, 1927, Bratianu, the soul of the Liberal machine, suddenly died, the government tried to come to terms with the National Peasant organization by offering it almost half the Ministerial portfolios. Conscious of

politics that the government in power never loses an election still held good.

From that day to this the National Peasant party has been in full power, with the Transylvanian Maniu as Prime Minister. Riding the crest of the huge electoral wave that had borne it into office, the new government proceeded to effect a completely new orientation of domestic policy. Within twenty-four hours the censorship of the press was repealed; except for a ten-kilometer strip along the Soviet frontier in Bessarabia, the state of siege which had existed in almost every

province was lifted; restrictions upon racial minorities were eased and anti-Jewish demonstrations curbed. On Feb. 2, 1929, an agreement was signed in Paris for a stabilization and reconstruction loan amounting to \$100,000,000. The terms were hard, with interest charges on the net proceeds working out at between 8 and 9 per cent. But the situation was so critical that haggling was unwise; and, with the further aid of foreign capital, now allowed easier ingress, the country was pulled back from the brink of bankruptcy. Drastic economies were introduced and public administration came in for a much-needed overhauling.

The leaders of the now dominant party viewed the country's problems in a large way. They had no sympathy with communism; in fact, they saw to it that the Communists who had been thrown into jail by the previous government were kept there. They were not even professed Socialists. They were the country's true Liberals—men who thought in terms of the nation as a whole, who perceived the economic realities upon which a twentieth century State must be grounded, and who believed with Maniu himself that there is no order without liberty, no liberty without order. They were not—and are not—paragons of statesmanship. They have made, and will make, mistakes. But by taking a full-orbed view of the situation, and by following where the best light led, they have been able in less than a year and a half to work a revolution.

A major evidence of their wisdom has been their relative unconcern about dynastic claptrap and their absorption in the business of regenerating the country's economic order. Four or five main lines on which this huge task has been undertaken are worthy of comment.

The starting point has been a frank recognition of the fact that Rumania is an agrarian country. The nation's mineral wealth is immense, and there are important manufactures; but its greatest treasure is the rich, black soil of its boundless plains. Eighty per cent



Times Wide World

JULIUS MANIU

Premier and leader of the Peasants' party

of the people dwell on and draw their sustenance from farms. The Maniu Government has believed that agriculture must take precedence in its economic policy and that only by increasing the output from the land can conditions be created which will place the national finances on a healthy basis and open avenues for the development of industry and foreign trade.

The expropriation of the few thousand large owners who formerly monopolized the land on a semi-feudal basis is not the work of the new government. Monastic lands were parceled out in 1864, and State domains, forming a third of the area of the country, in 1889. The process was completed in 1920-21, when transfers of title were effected in such quantity that thenceforth something like 85 per cent of all arable land has been in the hands of peasants. Much remained, however, for the National Peasant Government to do; problems of "farm relief" were

plentiful. One task was to reduce and later abolish export taxes on food-stuffs. Another was to promote agricultural education and the standardization of products. Another was to foster agricultural cooperation. Still another, of much importance, was to establish rural savings banks and to organize agricultural credits. The need at the latter point was particularly acute because most of the small holdings are inalienable. This bars the common practice of obtaining credit through farm mortgages and leaves the farmer in a position where he can pledge only his tools and stock and often has to pay 20 or 30 per cent for ready cash. Years will be required to carry out the government's program on these various matters, but at least a beginning toward rural credit was made last Summer with the establishment of an agrarian bank.

Although the State parted with most of its land some forty years ago, it is still the possessor of numerous and vast properties—mineral resources, railways, docks, forests, telegraph and

telephone systems, fisheries, metallurgical works, and even health resorts. So extensive are these that it may truly be said that, apart from agriculture, the country's primary economic enterprises are under direct State control; and a main public problem, on the solution of which prosperity clearly depends, is the effective and productive exploitation and administration of these works and resources.

The first serious attempt to commercialize public enterprises in any systematic way was made in a law of 1924, sponsored by the Bratianu Government. This measure was, however, ill-advised, for it was based on no inventory of State possessions, and no detailed inquiry into the previous administration and results, and it embodied chauvinistic provisions which were not only offensive to foreign capitalists and investors but absolutely inimical to the ends sought. At a time when capital and other assistance from abroad was indispensable, the law practically closed the doors by stipulating that in any company set up to exploit



Standard Oil tank trains at Ploesti, Rumania

Ewing Galloway

the country's public properties at least 60 per cent of the capital and two-thirds of the board of directors should be Rumanian. Serious controversies consequently arose with foreign interests previously operating in the country, notably the Standard Oil Company; and only five new commercial companies of the type contemplated were organized. The average returns to the State fell from 5.4 per cent of the properties' value in the old kingdom in 1913 to 1.5 per cent for the new Greater Rumania in 1927; while the public budget was freshly burdened by payment of dividends guaranteed by the State to private capital brought into such enterprises as were started.

With these unhappy results before it, the National Peasant Government began in 1929 by passing a law of much greater liberality and vision. It provided a unified administration by establishing a Superior Council charged with studying the whole situation as affecting nation, districts and communes, and progressively introducing a definite technical, economic, and legal system. The Council, being composed of experts, is expected also to serve as adviser to every public body that proposes to develop any property or title belonging to it. Further, all known forms or bases of organization are authorized—joint stock companies, cooperative enterprises, leases, concessions, public commercial administration, mixed administration, and others. It would be absurd, says V. N. Madgearu, the present Rumanian Minister of Finance (the source of much of the information contained in this article), to impose only one type of commercialization. Finally, all restrictions on foreign capital have been removed, and the country thereby brought back into the circle of world economics. International economic co-operation is, indeed, the keynote of the new régime.

On the basis of this new legislation, the railways, postoffice, telegraphs and telephones, oil pipe-lines, and many other enterprises have within the space

of a few months been transformed from public undertakings dependent upon departmental bureaucracy into autonomous administrations conducted according to commercial principles in the same way as limited corporations. Many new projects of commercialization have also been proposed or are actually under way, including river navigation, the gold mines at Baia Mare, the production and distribution of electric power in Bucharest and Cluj, and the production of silk cocoons and weaving at Lugoj. The government's belief that the legislation of 1929 opens a new era in the national economic life seems justified.

If the fertile plains furnish boundless agricultural possibilities, the mountains and hills hold unlimited mineral wealth, and from the days when the Romans developed mines in the country and connected them with the administrative centres by excellent roads, the production of gold, iron, copper, manganese, salt and oil has been a principal industry. The new Constitution of 1923 made minerals national property except in the case of properties belonging to private owners, which were guaranteed until 1973; and a mining law of 1924 undertook to carry out an actual nationalization of the subsoil, and particularly of the oil industry. Drawn on the chauvinistic lines characteristic of the economic legislation of that period, the law resulted only in injury to mining enterprise. Difficulties with the Royal Dutch Shell and Standard Oil companies greatly reduced the production to which they were accustomed; foreign companies were deprived of the possibility of acquiring new oil lands; and a crop of Rumanian "limited mining companies," with 60 per cent Rumanian capital and full Rumanian management, found themselves unable to procure capital and were obliged to curb, and even to suspend, their operations, thereby inflicting heavy losses upon Rumanian as well as foreign shareholders.

The National Peasant Government



Rumanian peasants in a hayfield

Times Wide World

on March 28, 1929, secured a new law endeavoring to strike a reasonable balance between a proper conservation of Rumanian interests and friendly co-operation with foreign capital. Within the liberal framework of this measure, mining rights and concessions for prospecting and exploitation may be obtained by any company whatever the origin of its capital. A comprehensive survey of the oil regions is being carried out, with the aid of air photography, so as to clear up all doubts as to the existing rights of the State and of private owners; State reserves are being auctioned off in a manner to promote prospecting in localities at a distance from established oil fields; and applications for prospecting concessions for oil, coal, gas and manganese are being received and granted.

Another measure calculated to deliver the country from the ruinous economic isolation to which Liberal policy condemned it is the tariff law of Aug. 1, 1929. In the ten years following the war the country's tariff system was changed six times, and in every case revision meant revision upward, especially as affecting industrial products. Inelasticity as to maximum and

minimum duties made it nearly impossible to negotiate arrangements abroad favorable to the country's exporting interests; while prohibitive rates on luxury articles, such as silk and perfumes, encouraged smuggling and produced a general demoralization of the customs service.

In its legislation of ten months ago the National Peasant Government sought to equip the country for the first time in a generation with a tariff that would be both stable and liberal. Protection is maintained as a principle, but with a priority for agriculture, and with a schedule of rates which not only gives the great majority of imported articles the benefit of wide concessions but opens the door for the negotiation of favorable commercial treaties abroad. Irreducible minimum duties are, indeed, provided in the case of some goods which Rumania is peculiarly fitted to produce, but the duties on all other articles making up the general tariff are reducible through mutual arrangements. The professed principle is to grant protection only in so far as conditions of domestic production are more difficult than those of foreign

production, and only to such industries as are capable of developing normally in the country. Rumania, indeed, became the first nation to reduce the general level of its tariffs in accordance with the resolutions adopted in 1927 at the economic conference convened by the League of Nations.

Once the government had removed barriers placed by tariffs in the way of international trade, it turned to modes of facilitating the flow of that trade. One means to this end was the improvement of internal communications; and a share of the stabilization loan was set apart for this purpose. Several projects are under way, among them the construction of a canal from Bucharest to the Danube, converting the capital into a seaport.

But a main problem was that of transit. Rumania lies athwart some of the easiest trade routes between East and West, particularly those traversing the Danube and its canals and the Black Sea. A major policy of the Peasant Government has been to effect arrangements under which the country's goods can pass unhampered through neighboring lands whose goods in turn can pass freely through Rumania. Up to 1929 practically nothing had been done on this score; prohibitive tolls and vexatious restrictions defied every natural demand of intercourse. The Maniu Government, however, believed that with proper encouragement Rumania, situated at the point of transition from one civilization to another, could quickly become the route of exchange between the exotic products and raw materials of the East and the manufactured goods of the West; and to help bring this about it procured last year two important laws, one establishing free zones and the other autonomy of the ports. Thus, there are to be created at Constanza, Galatz, Braila and other sea or river ports free areas or zones, in which goods in transit can be deposited, repacked, conditioned and reshipped without red

tape and without payment of duties or tolls. Traffic is to be attracted toward the country's ports also by a liberal railroad and river transport policy and by international transport conventions of the nature of an agreement recently concluded with Poland looking to an augmentation of the already important traffic along the great transit route connecting the newly established Polish port of Gdynia with Galatz on the lower Danube.

Such are some of the lines on which the National Peasant Government has been seeking to rebuild the economic life of a worn and mismanaged but potentially rich and vigorous nation. The time has been too short for full realization of many plans; in some cases years and even decades would be required. Few of Premier Maniu's supporters and co-laborers have previously had experience with the tasks and responsibilities of government. In addition, there is the question of how long the present Ministers will be left free to work out their reforms. The great majority of the people of both the old and new provinces seem to be with them. But the Liberal party is only biding its time—impatiently and with bitter opposition in the case of a wing headed by the surviving Bratianu brother (Vintila), more placidly by a less extreme faction led by the former Minister, Duca, which contents itself with expecting the Maniu Administration to be gradually weakened by tenure of office and eventually forced upon the rocks. Certainly, however, as a recent observer has commented, it would take a more resolute and resourceful man than is now in the field to unhorse the clever Maniu permanently and to hurl from power the peasant democracy which regards him as its champion. In the meantime, with every passing day, Rumania is settling more firmly into an economic order designed to bring about the material prosperity which forms perhaps the surest bulwark of a government credited with having created it.

Catholic and Jewish Population Trends in America

I—THE CATHOLIC SITUATION

By J. ELLIOT ROSS

ASSOCIATE ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR, SCHOOL OF RELIGION, STATE UNIVERSITY OF IOWA

THE CATHOLIC population of the United States, including infants, is given as 20,203,702 by *The Official Catholic Directory* for 1930. This figure includes Alaska and the Hawaiian Islands, but not Porto Rico or the Philippines. Apparently it includes also the Bahamas, because ecclesiastically these are part of the Archdiocese of New York. This total is an increase of 90,944 over the figures from the same source for 1929.

The question immediately suggests itself, was this a satisfactory gain? The answer, if these figures are taken at their face value, must be a decided negative. Since the excess of births over deaths for the entire registration area during the last year for which we have complete figures (1927) was 9.2 per 1,000, if Catholics had the same excess, there would have been an increase of more than double the 90,944 reported.

The Catholic excess of births over deaths should not have been smaller than for the general population, for it is improbable that the Catholic death rate would be any higher than the general death rate, while the Catholic birth rate ought to be higher than the general birth rate, for two reasons. First, the attitude of the Church on contraception should have a decided effect, and, second, the fact that in the case of Catholic children born from mixed marriages the non-Catholic parent is not counted in a Catholic census would probably make the Catholic birth rate higher in proportion to the Catholic population than for the general population, where both the parents are

counted for practically all children. When we actually calculate the Catholic birth rate by dividing the infant baptisms of a diocese by the population, we find that in most cases it is considerably higher than the average birth rate for the whole country.

On the assumption that the excess of births over deaths for the Catholic population should be at least 9.2 per 1,000, there should be an increase of 185,037 on the reported Catholic population of 20,112,754 for 1929. Consequently, the gross Catholic increase given by *The Official Catholic Directory* was less than half of what it should have been merely by excess of births over deaths. Of the increase reported 38,232 came from converts. This leaves 52,712, which is not much more than one-fourth of the expected increase by natural growth. Therefore, if the figures of *The Official Catholic Directory* are correct, the Catholic Church must have lost approximately 150,000 born Catholics. Furthermore, of the 52,712 increase left after subtracting the converts, a goodly proportion must have been from immigration. There is no way of telling accurately what proportion of the immigrants were Catholics, but when we consider that many of the immigrants were Mexicans, and so at least nominal Catholics, an allowance of 32,712 does not seem excessive. This would leave a net increase of 20,000 for the Catholic population by excess of births over deaths.

Thus, while the total population of the country was increasing at the rate of about 1 per cent by excess of births

over deaths, the Catholic population was increasing from this cause by only about one-tenth of 1 per cent. Nevertheless, the situation may not be quite that bad from the Catholic standpoint. If, for example, the Catholic population in each diocese is compared for 1929 and 1930, it is seen that the dioceses of Chicago, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, San Francisco, Baker City, Concordia, Fargo, Grand Rapids, Great Falls, Green Bay, Indianapolis, Kansas City, Lincoln, Monterey, Ogdensburg, Omaha, Peoria, Richmond, Rockford, St. Augustine, St. Cloud, Seattle, Springfield (Mass.), Winona, Ukrainian Greek Rite, Pittsburgh Greek Rite and Alaska reported the same for both years. This might imply that these dioceses had a stationary population, but it probably means that they did not take a census for 1930. So we may be justified in ignoring them in the grand total of the computation, which reduces the basis of comparison to 13,325,798. The natural increase for this population should have been 122,598. Moreover, in subtracting the converts from the total for these remaining dioceses, we should disregard the converts made in the dioceses enumerated above. This reduces the total converts to 28,508. Subtracting this number from 90,944 (the total increase of 1930 over 1929) we have left 62,436. This approximates somewhat closer to the natural increase the Catholic population should have had.

Since much of the European immigration went to dioceses which have been eliminated from the calculation, a smaller number of Catholic immigrants should be deducted. Allowing 22,436 immigrants on this basis, we have an increase in Catholic population of 40,000, as against an expected increase of 122,598. The Catholic Church, therefore, had about a third of the increase from excess of births over deaths that might have been expected from this cause. On the other hand, there may have been a decrease in the dioceses reporting the same fig-

ures for 1929 and 1930. If there were a decrease in these dioceses, it would mean that the Catholic Church would be further from instead of closer to the reasonably expected increase from excess of births over deaths. It is improbable that these dioceses should have had an absolutely stationary population, while of the dioceses reporting different figures for these two years, fourteen—San Antonio, Santa Fé, Altoona, Belleville, Boise, Cheyenne, Dallas, Harrisburg, Louisville, Marquette, Portland (Me.), Syracuse, Wheeling, Wilmington—show a combined decrease of 286,828.

The number of converts reported in the 1930 *Catholic Directory* is larger by 1,879 than the number reported in the 1929 *Directory*. When, however, we examine these figures, we see that proportionately to the Catholic population involved, the number of converts was relatively smaller. In the 1929 *Directory* thirteen dioceses, with a reported Catholic population of 3,891,694, did not report the number of converts, while in the 1930 *Directory* all but six dioceses, with a population of 1,518,065, did. In the dioceses reporting converts, the 1929 *Directory* shows one convert for every 445 Catholics, and in the 1930 *Directory* one for every 487.

In the 1930 *Directory* the total number of priests is given at 26,925, an increase of 572. This leaves the ratio between priests and people just as it was—one priest to 750 Catholics. If the Catholic population had shown the expected growth from excess of births over deaths, there would actually in 1930 be fewer priests in proportion to the Catholic population than in 1929. Seminarians increased from 14,686 to 16,300. This was an increase of 1,614, or from one for every 1,470 Catholics to one for every 1,240.

The most surprising figures are those for children in Catholic schools. According to the 1929 *Directory*, the total number of children in Catholic schools was 2,488,682. This number dropped to 2,248,571, shown in the 1930 *Directory*. Why should there have been this de-

crease of 240,111? This is the more surprising as parishes with schools increased from 7,063 to 7,225. One explanation might be a mistake in the figure for 1929, as it showed an increase of more than 200,000 children in Catholic schools as compared with 1928. But, going back to 1928 for comparison, there would still be a decrease of 33,000 for 1930. One hint as to the reason for this decrease is that the figures are for children in Catholic schools and not for Catholics in Catholic schools, and there is no way of telling what proportion of the children in Catholic schools are non-Catholics. In some places it has been as high as 70 per cent. Could it be that the bitter

antagonisms aroused during the Presidential campaign of 1928 resulted in the withdrawal of a considerable number of non-Catholics from Catholic schools? If that be true, the 1930 *Directory* reveals it, since the figures for each *Directory* are collected in September, although they are not tabulated and published until months later.

It is apparent that the figures of *The Official Catholic Directory* cannot be taken at their face value without a careful analysis, but the conclusion is inevitable that the figures, as they are given, show that, relatively to the general population of the United States, the Catholic Church is losing rather than gaining.

II—THE JEWISH PROBLEM

By URIAH Z. ENGELMAN

WRITER ON JEWISH SOCIOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

THE LIFE OF the Jew in the past centred in the congregation. The need to worship together was a great factor for national cohesion. A meeting place was always the first institution that graced the place he settled in, even when the Jewish population was very small. An analysis of the data of two surveys relating to the Jewish population and published in 1929, one made by the government as part of its 1926 census of religious bodies, the other by the American Jewish Committee, concerning the number of Jews in the United States, indicates that now the trend is away from the congregation.

The last religious enumeration recorded 3,118 Jewish congregations. The total membership is not given. The census considered "all Jews living in communities having congregations" as members of the congregations. Of the 3,118 congregations reported, New York City claimed 1,044, Chicago and Philadelphia 225 and eight cities having a population each of 50,000 to 100,000 Jews reported 290 congregations. Eleven cities accounted thus for 50 per

cent of all the reported religious organizations. The other 50 per cent of Jewish congregations was scattered in 860 communities. Altogether, congregations were found in 871 rural and urban places. Hence it is clear that a large number of communities in which Jews live reported no congregations. The American Jewish Committee for the purposes of its population survey was in contact through canvassers with 3,140 Jewish settlements in rural and urban districts. But Jewish congregations were found in only 871 communities, hence 2,269, or 62.3 per cent of all Jewish-canvassed settlements in America were without a congregation. If, however, the total number of Jewish settlements is considered, irrespective of whether they were reached by canvassers or not, the proportion of those having congregations will be considerably smaller.

This large number of congregationless communities is a new phenomenon in the long history of the Jewish people. The great increase which may be expected in the immediate future in the number of such communities is being

caused by the wider distribution of Jews throughout America. Available statistics point to a slow but sure migration of the Jews from the densely populated centres. In 1917, 92.25 per cent of the total Jewish population lived in the North; in 1927, the proportion decreased to 90.39 per cent. In the South, during the same period, the Jewish population has increased from 4.59 per cent in 1917 to 5.35 per cent in 1927, while the Western States have in the last decade recorded an increase from 3.16 to 4.26 per cent. Louis M. Hacker points out in the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly* that "in 1917 eleven large cities had 71 per cent of the Jewish population; by 1927, the proportion for these cities had fallen to 68.8 per cent. In 1917 the sixty-eight cities of 100,000 population and over, had 85.4 per cent of all the Jews in the country; in 1927, the proportion had fallen to 84 per cent. Again, in 1917, there were thirty-two cities in the country where the Jewish community numbered 10,000 persons and over. In 1917, these thirty-two cities had eighty per cent of the total Jewish population; by 1927, the same cities had 78.3 per cent of the Jewish population." This trend goes contrary to that of the general population, which, for the same period, has recorded both an absolute and relative increase in its urban population. Under pressure of economic need and in his desire to evade the unwelcome lot of the city proletariat, the Jew is beginning to tap the countryside. The 1927 Jewish population survey of the American Jewish committee reported 3,943 incorporated rural places and 3,292 unincorporated ones in which Jews were residing.

That the small town and rural Jewish settlements will organize themselves into congregations is not yet apparent. So far they have shown no propensity to do so. Of all the thousands of incorporated and unincorporated rural places with Jewish inhabitants, only eighty-five have established congregations, although village people are more religious than those of the cities, and the money needed to organize a

Jewish congregation is easily within the reach of a very small unit. Almost 50 per cent of the Jewish congregations in America own no houses of worship, but meet in rented halls. Neither Jewish law nor Jewish custom requires that the officiating member be ordained by a central or any other authority. Any one of the members may assume the office of either rabbi or cantor. The sparseness of the Jewish population in small towns is a partial cause of lack of congregations. Yet, there is no indication that the future shifting of the Jewish population into the rural areas will be toward greater density. So far it is in the opposite direction. In search for economic opportunities in the rural areas, the presence of co-religionists weighs very little, if at all, with the prospective Jewish rural settler. The Jew has become well adapted to American environment, and no longer considers it a venture to leave the big town with its organized Jewish community life for the small place with no Jewish institutions and often with no Jews. Indeed, the available figures show that the Jews spread very thinly over the countryside of America. Thus, in 3,943 rural incorporated places, having 2,500 or less population, the number of Jewish inhabitants formed but 0.48 per cent of the total population, while in the unincorporated places the spread of the Jewish settlers is still thinner, forming but 0.15 per cent of the total population. In view of this very thin spread there enter the elements of assimilation, such as intermarriage, membership in non-Jewish churches and associations, the complete lack of Jewish religious schools in the rural sections, the persistent influence of the Christian milieu, factors, which are very potent in a small Christian community with no organized Jewish life.

According to the last religious enumeration, the 3,118 recorded Jewish congregations owned 1,782 synagogue buildings. Assuming that no congregation possessed more than one building, 57 per cent of all reported religious organizations had their own edifices.

Is this great discrepancy between the number of congregations and the number of edifices they possess, only confined to the Jewish denomination, or is it a condition common to all creeds in America? From a comparative analysis of the fifty-seven denominations which reported in the last religious enumeration, on 200 or more congregations, the Jewish Church is at the bottom of the list. It owns proportionately fewer buildings than any organized creed in America. Of the fifty-seven important denominations, thirteen have more religious edifices than congregations, nineteen claim a ratio of religious buildings to congregations of 90 per cent and over, nine have a ratio of 80-90 per cent, while eleven fall in the class between 70-80 per cent. Only one denomination, Church of Christ, Scientist, besides the Jewish, reported a ratio of religious edifices to organizations below 70 per cent—namely, 63 per cent. The ratio for the Jewish denomination is 57 per cent.

The perpetuation of an organized church depends on continued membership, which, in turn functions to the extent and quality of the religious instruction given to the children of the

members. From an analysis of enrolment in religious schools and adult membership of over 13 years of age, of all recorded creeds in America, the Jewish people do proportionately less than any existing creed in America for the dissemination of religious instruction among its youth. The ratio of Jewish enrolment in religious schools (Sunday and week-day schools combined) to adult membership is 8 per cent. This is about three times less than the ratio for the Roman Catholics, ten times less than for the Baptist and Presbyterian denominations, fourteen times less than for the Methodist Episcopal Church and four times less than for the Protestant Episcopal Church. None of the smaller denominations even remotely approach the low ratio of the Jewish Church. This and other facts relating to the thousands of congregationless communities, the probable increase in the number of these communities in the future, the low ratio of Jewish religious edifices to congregations and the seepage of the Jews into the rural areas away from the centres of Jewish religious life, all point toward the weakening of the Jewish Church in America.

The Problem of the Nile

By PIERRE CRABITES

AMERICAN JUDGE, EGYPTIAN MIXED TRIBUNAL

THE PROBLEM OF THE NILE, the waters of which are vital to Egyptian prosperity, played an all-important part in the Anglo-Egyptian conference which ended in failure in London on May 8, 1930. This problem, in turn, is bound up with the question of the Sudan.

It will be recalled that the proclamation in which Great Britain on Feb. 22, 1922, abolished her protectorate over Egypt and recognized the independence of that country, had a third and final paragraph which was couched in these terms:

The following matters are absolutely reserved to the discretion of his Majesty's Government until such time as it may be possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides to conclude agreements in regard thereto between his Majesty's Government and the government of Egypt:

(a) The security of the communications of the British Empire in Egypt;

(b) The defence of Egypt against all aggression or interference, direct or indirect;

(c) The protection of foreign interests in Egypt and the protection of minorities;

(d) The Sudan.

Pending the conclusion of such agreements the *status quo* in all matters shall remain intact.

The recent London conference was called for the purpose of seeking to do away with these reservations by "free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides." The British delegates were headed by Arthur Henderson, Foreign Secretary in the present Labor Government, and among his coadjutors was Sir Percy Lorraine, British High Commissioner at Cairo, while Moustafa Nahas Pasha led the Egyptian delegation. The conference had more than an agenda before it. Mr. Henderson and Muhammad Mahmoud Pasha, then Prime Minister of Egypt, had on Aug. 3, 1929, elaborated proposals for an

Anglo-Egyptian agreement. They had reduced their discussions to a text of sixteen articles. To these were annexed a series of explanatory letters. When the two delegations met their discussions revolved around these documents. It is affirmed that an agreement was not only possible but that an accord was, for all intents and purposes, arrived at, except in regard to the Sudan.

The article (XIII) which wrecked the conference read as follows:

While reserving liberty to conclude new conventions in future modifying the Conventions of 1899 the High Contracting Parties agree that the status of the Sudan shall be that resulting from the said conventions.

Accordingly, the Governor General shall continue to exercise on the joint behalf of the High Contracting Parties the powers assigned to him by the said conventions.

Six explanatory letters deal with this article. Three are addressed by the British Foreign Secretary to the Egyptian Prime Minister, and three are replies. The first communication and its reply deal with the question of the indebtedness of the Sudan to Egypt and foreshadow "a settlement on a fair and equitable basis." The second exchange refers to "the agreement which we have reached as regards the method by which international conventions are to be made applicable to the Sudan." All these details are of minor importance. It is the last letter of this series, written by Mr. Henderson to Muhammad Mahmoud Pasha which impinges upon dangerous ground:

During our recent discussions Your Excellency expressed the hope that, on the coming into force of a treaty, Egyptian troops would be readmitted to the Sudan.

If, as his Majesty's Government in Great Britain and Northern Ireland earnestly trust, the treaty is worked in the same friendly spirit in which the proposals were negotiated, they will be prepared to examine sympathetically a pro-

posal for the return to the Sudan of an Egyptian battalion simultaneously with the withdrawal of the British forces from Cairo.

Article XIII of the draft agreement, it will be noted, speaks of "new conventions in future modifying the convention of 1899." One should, therefore, go back to that convention in order to appreciate the import of Article XIII.

General Gordon, while on his fateful way to Egypt sent on Jan. 22, 1884, an official memorandum to Lord Granville in which he said: "The Sudan is a useless possession, ever was so, and ever will be so. * * * I think her Majesty's Government are fully justified in recommending the evacuation." Khartum fell on Jan. 28, 1885. Gordon died in its defense. Thereafter the policy of withdrawing from the Sudan and of ad-

hering to a strictly defensive attitude on the Egyptian frontier was maintained for some years. But the cry, "Gordon must be avenged," soon began to assert itself. Years of patient toil intervened. On Sept. 2, 1898 the battle of Omdurman was fought and won by the British.

The Sudan having been reconquered, the question arose of the future political status of that country. The campaign had been carried on in the name of the Khedive. British and Egyptian blood had been shed and British and Egyptian gold expended. It was, therefore, considered but proper that the new administration should be typical of this same spirit of cooperation. Accordingly, an agreement entered into between London and Cairo on Jan. 19, 1899, crystallized this point of view, stating in its preamble that it was desirable "to give effect to the claims which have accrued to her Britannic Majesty's Government by right of conquest, to share in the present settlement and future working and development of the * * * system of administration and legislation." The text of the treaty provided that:

(a) The British and Egyptian flags shall be used throughout the Sudan;

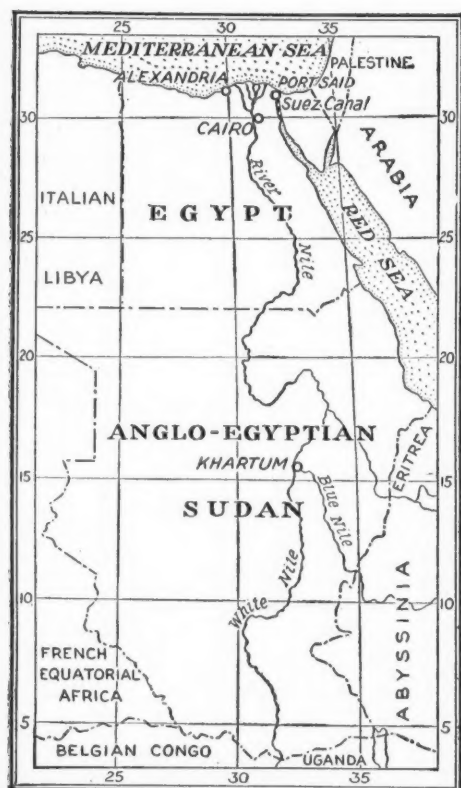
(b) The supreme military and civil command shall be vested in an officer termed "the Governor General of the Sudan," and to be appointed by a Khedivial decree on the recommendation of the British Government.

(c) Proclamations of the Governor General shall have the force of law;

(d) The jurisdiction of the Egyptian Mixed Tribunals shall "not extend to or be recognized for any purposes whatsoever in any part of the Sudan"; and

(e) No foreign consuls shall be allowed to reside in the country without previous consent of the British Government.

No new convention between London and Cairo has modified this agreement. It created a partnership between Great Britain and Egypt for the administration of the Sudan. It made of the latter country an asset of the partnership. This extension of Great Britain's sphere of influence in Africa flowed logically from her Egyptian commitments. This



Course of the Nile through Egypt and the Sudan

branching out of Egypt was but a logical expansion. The two high contracting parties had like interests in 1899 and during the years which extended until the British Protectorate over Egypt was abolished in 1922. The partnership worked out admirably as long as Egypt did not aspire to independence, but when her independence with reservations which included the Sudan was proclaimed on Feb. 28, 1922, there was no longer harmony. The fact that Egyptians sought to put an end to these reservations inevitably caused disturbance. And then cruel fate decreed that on Nov. 19, 1924, Sir Lee Stack, the Governor General of the Sudan, should be assassinated by an Egyptian. The British were so outraged by this wanton attack which followed scores of murders in Egypt of Englishmen that recourse was had to swift and vigorous action. On Nov. 23, 1924, Lord Allenby, the British High Commissioner at Cairo, presented to the Egyptian Government two communications. The first of these bears the following references to the Sudan:

His Majesty's Government therefore require that the Egyptian Government shall:

(5) Order within twenty-four hours the withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and the purely Egyptian units of the Egyptian Army, with such resulting changes as shall be hereafter specified;

(6) Notify the competent department that the Sudan Government will increase the area to be irrigated in the Gezira from 300,000 feddans [acres] to an unlimited figure, as need may arise.

The second communication reads, in so far as it affects the Sudan, as follows:

With reference to my preceding communication, I have the honor to inform your Excellency, on behalf of his Britannic Majesty's Government, that their specific requirements respecting the army in the Sudan * * * are as follows:

The Egyptian officers and purely Egyptian units of the Egyptian Army having been withdrawn, Sudanese units of the Egyptian Army shall be converted into a Sudan defense force, owing allegiance to the Sudan Government alone and under the supreme command of the Governor General, in whose name all commissions will be given.

The annexes to the Henderson-Mahmoud Pasha proposals take up the question of the eventual readmission of Egyptian troops to the Sudan. Nothing is said, either in Article XIII or in this correspondence, as to the water rights vested in the Sudan by the Allenby ultimatum of Nov. 23, 1922. To appreciate the meaning of Lord Allenby's language and the bearing that this water rights issue has upon the present phase of the Egyptian question, it should be remembered that when Lord Cromer declared that "the Sudan is as essential to Egypt as is the port of Alexandria," he was stressing the need for rehabilitating the Sudan. He urged the reconquering of the "Black Country" as the one and only adequate means of safeguarding the water supply of Egypt. In carrying his point he made most educated Egyptians look upon the Sudan as an integral part of the irrigation system of Egypt.

The small and real Egypt may be literally described as "the river, which is Egypt," meaning the land formed by the deposit of the silt-laden annual flood. The main part of this land is the Delta, or Lower Egypt, which is triangular in shape. Its area is about 4,800,000 acres, of which 3,000,000 are cultivated. In the reaches from Cairo to the frontier of the Sudan there are approximately 2,500,000 cultivable acres, of which 2,200,000 are now cultivated. The combined extent of all of the arable lands of Egypt totals 7,300,000 acres, of which 5,200,000 are at present under the plow. Since rain plays no part in the agricultural life of Egypt, irrigation from the Nile was introduced at an early date. Experts affirm that the Summer supply of water in that river is in certain years insufficient for the adequate irrigation of the cultivated lands now dependent upon it. Egypt is a growing and an exclusively agricultural country. There is, therefore, an insistent demand for expansion of cultivation into new zones now lying fallow for want of Nile water.

Conditions in Lord Cromer's time were, if anything, more accentuated than they are today. He fought for

Egypt and for Nile water. He reconquered the Sudan in order to make sure that the upper reaches of the Nile should be used for the betterment of Egypt. He foresaw the time when dams and reservoirs would have to be built south of the confines of Egypt in order that that country might have an adequate water supply. So carefully was this policy carried out that after the "Black Country" had been reconquered, the Sudan was not allowed to take a drop of Summer water from the Nile. This principle was relentlessly adhered to until Jan. 27, 1904, when the Sudan was authorized to draw annually from the Nile Summer water sufficient to cultivate 100,000 acres of Summer crops. On Oct. 9, 1909, after Lord Cromer's resignation, authority was given to enlarge this area to 200,000 acres. The increase was, nevertheless, made contingent upon the heightening of the Asswan dam. Later, orders permitted the Sudan to increase its withdrawals to the quantity necessary for irrigating 300,000 acres.

Lord Cromer's insistence upon Egypt's vested right to control the allotment of every molecule of Summer water in the Nile was not necessarily sound in law, nor could it be urged as equitable. It was simply his policy and it accustomed Egyptians to look upon the Sudan as nothing but an aqueduct which carries water to Egypt from the recesses of Central Africa. When, therefore, Egyptians read Lord Allenby's ultimatum of Nov. 23, 1922, they may or they may not have reacted to the significance of what was said about the immediate withdrawal from the Sudan of all Egyptian officers and the purely Egyptian units of the Egyptian Army. But they unquestionably understood the potentialities of the chastisement which was conveyed in these words: "His Majesty's Government therefore require that the Egyptian Government shall notify the competent department that the Sudan Government will increase the area to be irrigated from 300,000 feddans [acres] to an unlimited figure, as need may arise."

The British, however, recalled that

Lloyd George, then Prime Minister, had on Feb. 28, 1922, assured Egypt that, pending agreements made possible by free discussion and friendly accommodation on both sides, the status quo in respect of all reserved questions should remain intact. In an exchange of letters on Jan. 26, 1925, between the Egyptian Prime Minister, Ahmad Ziwari Pasha, and Lord Allenby, the former asked for reconsideration of the question of irrigation in the Sudan and revocation of the instructions given to the Khartum authorities. Lord Allenby replied that the British Government, "however solicitous for the prosperity of the Sudan," had "no intention of trespassing upon the natural and historic rights of Egypt in the waters of the Nile and that, in giving instructions to the Sudan Government, His Majesty's Government had intended that they should be interpreted in this sense." The Allenby letter continued in the following strain:

Moved by these considerations and in proof of their intentions, his Majesty's Government are disposed to direct the Sudan Government not to give effect to the previous instructions as regards the unlimited development of the Sudan Gezira mentioned in the note of Nov. 23, on the understanding that an expert committee * * * shall meet not later than Feb. 15 for the purpose of examining and proposing a basis on which irrigation can be carried out with full consideration for the interests of Egypt and without detriment to her natural and historical rights.

This committee was appointed. Its chairman was J. J. Canter Cremers, a Dutchman. He died before their findings were put into writing. The two remaining members, R. N. McGregor, the British delegate, and Abdul Hamid Suleiman Pasha, the Egyptian representative, handed in a joint report. It does not appear to have been acted upon in any formal manner.

Meanwhile, Lord Lloyd, then British High Commissioner at Cairo, and Muhammad Mahmoud Pasha, then Prime Minister of Egypt, exchanged letters which have a far-reaching effect upon the legal status of the Nile water problem. The third paragraph of the lat-

ter's decisive letter to the British resident is couched in these terms:

It is realized that the development of the Sudan requires a quantity of Nile water greater than that which has been so far utilized by the Sudan. As your Excellency is aware, the Egyptian Government has always been anxious to encourage such development and will therefore continue that policy and be willing to agree with his Majesty's Government upon such an increase of this quantity as does not infringe Egypt's natural and historical right in the waters of the Nile and its requirements of agricultural extension, subject to a satisfactory assurance as to the safeguarding of Egyptian interests as detailed in later paragraphs of this note.

Lord Lloyd's reply said in part:

In conclusion I would remind your Excellency that his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have already acknowledged the natural and historical rights of Egypt in the waters of the Nile. I am to state that his Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom regard the safeguarding of those rights as a fundamental principle of British policy and to convey to your Excellency the most positive assurances that this principle and the detailed provisions of this agreement will be observed at all times under any conditions that may arise.

On July 10, 1924, Ramsay MacDonald, then, as now, Prime Minister of Great Britain, made a very clear statement as to the meaning of "the natural and historical rights" of Egypt. Certain conversations were then going on with the late Zaghoul Pasha, the Egyptian leader. There was talk of an agreement between England and Egypt. Mr. MacDonald declared in the House of Commons that "the Egyptian cultivator may rest perfectly content that, as the result of the agreement which we are prepared to make, the independence of the Sudan will not mean that he is going to enjoy a single pint of water less than if he had it and was himself working it."

The Lord Lloyd-Muhammad Mahmoud Pasha Nile Waters agreement was published on May 7, 1929. Great Britain looked upon this understanding as confirming Lord Cromer's principles (1) that the Nile was Egypt's river, (2) that the Sudan was an aqueduct

conveying Nile water to Egypt and (3) that Great Britain could not validly draw a pint of water out of that river if Egypt needed that half quart. Downing Street, accordingly, considered that this correspondence so buttressed Egypt's position in respect of her vital requirements as to make it comparatively easy for British and Egyptian statesmen to settle the entire Egyptian question.

During a visit of Muhammad Mahmoud Pasha to England in the Summer of 1929, after the return to power of the Labor party, the permanent officials of the British Foreign Office thought the moment propitious for an attempt to get the perennial Egyptian question out of the way. Though the safety of the Suez Canal is vital to Great Britain, that may be attained by converting the land on either side into a Gibraltar segregated from Egypt. This objective assured, all that Egypt represents to London may be reduced to three headings: (1) prestige; (2) positions for a comparatively small number of English civil servants and (3) delightful Winter quarters for British Army officers. There is no discriminatory taxation in favor of the British. No fat contracts are given to British merchants except in a fair field. Furthermore, British administration of the country is hampered by the Capitulations—treaties from which the vested rights of foreigners spring—and the Mixed Courts. As things stand today, the Egyptians and the Levantines who are established in their midst are so prosperous that between them they own almost every acre of arable land in the country. Egypt proper thus affords practically no field for British enterprise. In a word, it is no exaggeration to say that Egypt itself, as opposed to the Sudan, means nothing to the British. But if Downing Street thus felt that Great Britain could well afford to retire from Egypt in return for (1) adequate safeguarding of imperial communications and (2) compensatory advantages in the Sudan, Egyptian public opinion was hardly ripe for a dispassionate analysis of the proposals sub-

mitted to Muhammad Mahmoud Pasha by the British Foreign Secretary.

When one speaks of "public opinion" in Egypt it is well to recall that over 90 per cent of the Egyptian electors are illiterate. "Public opinion" in Egypt refers at the present moment to the point of view of the leaders of what is known as the Wafd, the political party which represents the vocalized sentiments of 97 per cent of the Egyptian voters.

The Wafd held a series of meetings between May 9 and May 15, 1929, and by a unanimous vote refused to approve of the Nile waters agreement entered into by Lord Lloyd and Muhammad Mahmoud Pasha on May 7, 1929. Parliament had been dissolved shortly after the latter came into office. This Wafd veto accordingly represented what may be taken to be the reaction of Egyptian public opinion to the Nile waters pact. This is but another way of saying that when Mr. Henderson and his coadjutors met Moustafa Nahas Pasha and his associates in London in April, 1930, the assumptions which appear to have been made by the British delegates were not necessarily admitted by the Egyptian representatives. Not only did the Egyptian mind refuse to admit that the Sudan was, as Downing Street believed, irrevocably made into an aqueduct carrying water to Egypt, but Cairo had long since convinced itself—or had been convinced by Lord Cromer—that the Sudan was an essential and integral part of Egypt. In Arnold J. Toynbee's *Survey of International Affairs*, 1925, the author wrote:

The Sudan, to the Egyptian mind, was

an annex of Egypt which should be utilized in Egypt's interests; and the instinctive Egyptian policy toward the Sudan might perhaps be stated not unfairly in these terms: That the economic development of the Sudan should be postponed until that of Egypt had been completed; and that thereafter the Sudan should only be developed as far as this could be done without detriment to Egyptian interests and primarily as an outlet for any overflow of the Egyptian population.

In their official statement issued on May 7, 1930, immediately after the adjournment of the London conference the Egyptian delegates declared that they "went to the utmost length of concession but could not surely abandon Egypt's right in the Sudan." The British delegates considered that the Sudan and Egypt were two distinct countries, inhabited by different races, separated by the Nubians and with a wide expanse of territory between the two lands. They felt that Great Britain had contributed to an important extent in the reconquest of the Sudan and that it was but proper that the "Black Country" should be opened to English enterprise, "Egypt's natural and historical rights to the waters of the Nile" having been adequately safeguarded. Egyptian public opinion was not entirely satisfied on the latter score and looked upon the Sudan as being a land separated by a vast expanse from the mass of the population but indissolubly a part of the country. On the other hand, Mr. Henderson considered that "the Egyptians threw away the substance; they insisted on discussing the Sudan, but the conference was called to discuss not the Sudan but Egypt."

CAIRO, Egypt, May, 1930.

Propaganda as an Instrument of War

By GEORGE C. BRUNTZ

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, HIGH SCHOOL, PASO ROBLES, CAL.

MORE THAN any other war in history the conflict of 1914-18 was one of arms and ideas—of words as well as of explosives and steel. Early in 1918 the late Edwin E. Slosson said: "The war has resolved itself to a question of morale. Which people will lose heart first?" And Hindenburg is quoted as having said that he who keeps his nerve the longest wins the war.

Thus, to make the enemy lose heart, to tear down their morale, the Allies organized a system of propaganda for enemy countries that rivaled any other means of warfare for efficiency and scientific perfection. In England, Crewe House, under the direction of Lord Northcliffe; in France, La Maison de la Presse and Le Comité Catholique; in America, the Military Intelligence Division of the United States Army, under the direction of Heber Blankenhorn; the Committee of Public Information, under the leadership of George Creel, and the Friends of German Democracy, all concentrated their efforts toward the destruction of the enemy morale. Before the close of the war there had been organized a regular Interallied Board for propaganda against the enemy; it met at regular intervals at Crewe House in London, under the presidency of Lord Northcliffe.

These organizations printed leaflets, pamphlets, books and pictures, and delivered them to the German troops, and the people behind the lines, with amazing efficiency. The trench mortar, the airplane, and finally the free balloon, were all used to deliver the "word bullets" to the enemy.

A study of the propaganda leaflets, or *Flugblätter*, as the Germans called them, reveals clearly four distinct phases of the propaganda war. The

subject matter of these various phases may be thus classified: (1) propaganda of education; (2) propaganda of fear; (3) propaganda of hope, and (4) revolutionary propaganda. This is more or less the chronological order in which these different phases appeared. Only a few typical examples of each can be given to show just what the allied propagandists were driving at in their campaigns.

A. Propaganda of Education—The first thing that the "verbal warriors" attempted to do was to present to the enemy the allied war aims. The initial series of "balloon leaflets" issued by Crewe House contained Lloyd George's speech in which he outlined the war aims of the Allies:

We are not waging an aggressive war against the German people. * * * The destruction of the German people was never one of our war aims, either at the beginning or today.

Throughout this and other speeches we find the sentiment expressed that the Allies are fighting for justice, for the protection of the weaker nations, and for international honor.

The French attacked the supposed war aims of Germany in a "Message to the Berlin Populace," which was dropped over Berlin by French fliers. The aviators attached a little note to the packets of these leaflets which said:

We could have attacked the city of Berlin with bombs, and thereby killed innocent women and children; but we chose to direct the following to the German people.

Then follows the message:

Many clear-sighted Germans know today that the war was instigated by the military degenerates of Berlin and Vienna. * * * The German people were lied to, to force them into a war which they did not want. They call it a war of defense, a war of liberation, but it is noth-

ing but a war of conquest and stealing.

When the United States entered the war, much space was devoted to the causes that drove America into it. American disinterestedness in the conflict, so far as conquest or reward was concerned, was stressed. America's great desire, said the leaflets, was to help free the world of Prussianism and the military Junkers. Quoting from one of Wilson's speeches, leaflet A. P. 3 says in part:

What we want is that the world come to the point where security and prosperity are insured; security for every peace-loving nation, which, like our own, desires freedom, the right to determine its own destinies, and to be assured of justice, and fair dealing with other nations.

In order to keep the enemy rank-and-file informed with regard to the activities on the front, various "news-papers" were established, of which the *Trench Newspaper* and the *Truppen Nachrichtenblatt* were the outstanding. The latter was a small leaflet, six by eight inches in size, and contained such pointed headlines as: "Foch Leading New Attack. Entente Armies Press Forward on Another Wide Front." Or again, "Turkish Army in Palestine Destroyed. No Further Opposition to English Expected."

When the British took the offensive in 1918, they sowed the German trenches with maps upon which their gains were plainly marked. They recalled the false hopes which the German leaders had held out to the people and the army. They circulated an alleged statement in a German newspaper which lamented that a few weeks ago it appeared as if our armies were near their goal: the defeat of the enemy and peace. But what a change! The maps contained also the number of prisoners taken and the number of dead and wounded on each side, after every encounter. So accurate were these estimates of losses to Germany that Eugene Netter was prompted to write in his *Der Seelischen Zusammenbruch der Deutschen Kampffront* (The Psychological Collapse of the German Fighting Front):

The leaflets told of the losses to the

Germans in the first offensive. The number lost in one of our regiments, as given in the leaflets, tallied exactly with the actual loss; hence, thereafter, the entire contents of the leaflets were believed, and one was stunned at the greatness of our losses.

B. Propaganda of Fear.—Intensifying the horrors of war, and assuring the enemy that the Allies were determined to fight to the end, was another type of propaganda against Germany—the propaganda of fear. Such leaflets as these, constantly brought to the attention of the soldiers, could not but have a desirable effect—from the standpoint of the Allies, at least. Said one:

To You in the Field of Death!

Wherever you march there is a desert and everywhere there is death. You are in the field of death! Look about you! All that you can see is the work of death.

Why are you here with the dead?

Why? For how long?

And another contained the comforting words that

Probably tomorrow you too will lie in a shellhole with your face up, looking toward heaven; then you will have peace, the peace of the field of slaughter!

While at home your wives and children are hungering!

When the American forces were being felt at the front, the odds were entirely against Germany. Her cause seemed hopeless, and yet her troops fought on. Along with the attacks of gas, bombs and shells during the great Western offensive, the Allies made unceasing attacks with propaganda. Word "bullets" such as follows were rained upon the enemy:

The war may last for years yet.

One hundred thousand more Germans lie buried in France. He who has had enough of this nameless dirtiness; who is tired of spending his best years in blood and dirt; who wants to return home with unbroken bones, to work for a better and freer Germany, let him refuse to follow further.

Then calling upon the troops to surrender to the French, the leaflet ends:

Free yourselves, come over to a free nation and victory is yours; the victory of a freedom-loving German people against war-mad exploiters.

C. Propaganda of Hope—But it was not enough to bring to the attention of the German troops the fact that they were fighting a losing battle, and that they were slaves to the military and Junker class. They had to be given something better to strive for, and to hope for.

One way by which the German soldier could hope to save his life, and perhaps return home to his family unmaimed, was to surrender to the Allies. Propaganda, purporting to emanate from the German prisoners already in allied camps, telling about the good food, the comfortable quarters and the fine treatment that they were receiving in these prisons, was sent out by the wagon load. Many times supposed letters of German prisoners to their families at home were leafletized and distributed to the enemy. The following is an example of these:

Chateauroux, Jl. 7, 1917.

Frau Dreuske, Bueschow, Province Brandenburg.

I have just finished cracking nuts, for we receive nuts or cherries for every meal. Our host is glad to have us eat our fill, for when we leave something over he thinks we do not want it, and sometimes it is not possible to eat it all. We have plenty of bread and wine; if he sees we want water he turns and brings wine. From this you can see that I suffer no need. I close in the hope that this letter finds you in the same condition it has left me.

But perhaps the most ingenious scheme for getting the enemy to desert to the Allies was that used by the Americans. This was in the form of an invitation. Typographically it was an exact reproduction of the German field postcard. Its instructions began:

Write the address of your family upon this card and if you are captured by the Americans, give it to the first officer who questions you. He will make it his business to forward it in order that your family will be reassured concerning your welfare.

The reverse side had the following greeting to the home folks all ready for the prisoner to sign his name to:

Do not worry about me. The war is over for me. I have good food. The American Army gives its prisoners the

same food as its own soldiers; beef, white bread, potatoes, beans, prunes, coffee, butter, tobacco, and so forth.

To make certain that the enemy troops would surrender, the propagandists distributed leaflets which gave instructions. They had only to steal out of their trenches at night, crawl to within hearing distance of the French trenches, lift their two hands to heaven and give the international password, "*Kamerad, ne tirez pas.*" Said one of these:

Come to us before it is too late. Report to us with the words, "We come to you by leaflet Number 1," and we will know who you are.

So appealing were some of these leaflets that J. Norman Hall, a member of the famous Lafayette Flying Corps, said, "The charming picture of the deserter's reception in France made me feel like deserting to France myself."

D. Revolutionary Propaganda—Although this type of propaganda did not get into full swing until late in 1917, attacks upon the military leaders were made indirectly from the very beginning of the war. The leaders were accused of prolonging the war. Why shouldn't they want to prolong the war? They were receiving glory from it and were suffering no privations:

And that isn't the worst, soldiers! A Lieutenant General in Berlin takes bribes to firms, soldiers! in order to supply goods to the war officials * * *

And in the big hotels in Berlin every night champagne flows at 80 marks a flask.

When the Kaiser decorated Hindenburg with the Gold Medal, the propagandists said:

What has he given you? Suffering, poverty, hunger for women and children, misery, pestilence, and tomorrow—the grave!

They say you are fighting for the Fatherland—but what is your Fatherland? Is it Hindenburg, who with Ludendorff is many kilometers behind the lines, making plans to give the English more cannon-fodder?

Thus, the troops' hatred of their officers was intensified and spread.

The Kaiser was by no means spared in this attack. Among other things,

folders were distributed which contained a picture of the Kaiser and his official staff seated at a table in a beautiful garden. The table is covered with glasses of liquor, and there is a look of contentment on the faces of the members of the "party." The picture is labeled: "How the War looks at Headquarters." Opposite this picture is another showing the explosion of a shell and two soldiers being torn to pieces. This is labeled: "How the War looks in the Trenches."

That this campaign against the German monarch was effective is evident from the entry of Princess Bluecher in her diary as early as January, 1918:

The [good] feeling towards the Kaiser is steadily diminishing, and the same people who greeted him so warmly a short time ago with "Ave, Caesar," are now distributing leaflets in the back streets of Berlin, proclaiming "Down with the Kaiser, down with the government!"

Nor did the propagandists avoid revolutionary suggestions. As early as August, 1917, a member of the Seventh Army reported having received a leaflet as follows:

On the day the Kaiser of Berlin falls, you will be liked in Paris, London, New York and Rome. * * *

German soldiers, think of this! Have counsel with your comrades. Oppose the continuation of the war as forcefully as you oppose your enemies!

The sentiment of this revolutionary propaganda is well summarized in a leaflet entitled "Comrades, Awake!" After criticizing the German Government it closes with the words:

For a more beautiful, higher and nobler end our strength should go. The holy aim of our strength should be: A free and happy German republic! Comrades, work for this high, beautiful aim, with which the happiness of the world is bound up! Comrades, awake! Realize your strength!

It was difficult to find out just what effect this propaganda was having. In the Summer of 1918, the Psychological Subsection of the United States Army determined to watch the progress of the deteriorating morale of the enemy. A daily report was prepared which contained in brief form all news bearing

on German morale which had come in during the preceding twenty-four hours. From a collective weekly report was worked out the famous "Chart of German Civilian Morale," which showed its variations from week to week, as a nurse's chart records the variations in the temperature of a patient.

Such paragraphs as the following, taken from the Intelligence Summaries of the United States Army, give us some idea of the effect of allied propaganda:

Oct. 17, 1918.

Enclosed find leaflets taken from prisoners captured Oct. 15. They said that leaflets were eagerly read by every one who could get hold of them and that the President's answer to Germany's note of Oct. 4 was news to them.

The officers said: "The propaganda which your aviators have dropped has given us no end of trouble!"

And in an American divisional summary of Jan. 28, 1919, is found this from the interrogation of S—, an infantryman:

One of the things that made a great impression on the German soldiers and which S— believes helped to shorten the war was the propaganda dropped by American planes. Despite orders the soldiers continued to obtain the papers. Many sent them home to their families.

German officials tried to combat this verbal attack by means of counter-propaganda. They sent out *Nachrichtenblätter* (news sheets) to keep up the spirit of the troops. Entertainments, patriotic instructions, appeals from Hindenburg to the troops were all tried, but to no avail. The twenty-first number of the *Nachrichtenblatt der 18 Armee* admitted defeat!

In the sphere of leaflet propaganda the enemy has defeated us. * * * The enemy has defeated us, not as man against man in the field of battle, bayonet against bayonet; no, bad contents poorly printed on poor paper have paralyzed our strength.

While no accurate estimate can be obtained as to the number of Germans who went over to the Allies, German Army Orders reveal that desertions caused grave concern among the offi-

cials. Field Order Ia No. 8915, for instance, says:

Desertions.

Every man going over to the enemy will be punished with death on return to Germany. All his property within the country will be seized. He will lose his citizenship; his next of kin will not have the right to receive an allowance.

It is useless to reckon on escaping the penalty by remission or lapse of time.

(Signed) LUDENDORFF.

But all attempts of Ludendorff and Hindenburg to counteract the allied verbal onslaught were unsuccessful. The German soldiers and people were war-weary, hungry, tired of the Hohenzollerns and Junkers, and full of hope for the future of Germany—these hopes being based on the promises of the Allies. The moral strength of Germany had collapsed.

A serious estimate of the part played by allied propaganda in the collapse of the German Empire is impossible. Propaganda was only one of the many weapons used in the war to combat the enemy. It is impossible to give the percentage of victory due to any arm of the service. Shells, gas, bombs, tanks, airplanes, and so forth, were used to destroy the physical life of the soldiers, while propaganda was used to kill the spirit. And in war one is as important as the other.

The propagandists undoubtedly awakened a spirit of a new freedom and a new nationalism in the hearts of the German people. While attacking the autocratic system, they praised democracy and showed the superiority of the latter type of government to the former. And finally they set a premium upon the overthrow of the Hohenzollern Government, in the form of promises of mild peace terms and aid in restoring the economic life of the new Germany.

When questioned before the *Untersuchungsausschuss* (investigation commission), a German official body inquiring into the cause of Germany's downfall, Dr. Phillips, as its spokesman, stated:

It is difficult to measure the influence of enemy propaganda. But I do not believe that without its successful help the German downfall could have succeeded as it did.

Thus, whatever part—large or small—we may attribute to propaganda in bringing about the downfall of the German Empire, "the fact remains that propaganda is one of the most powerful instrumentalities in the modern world." And, as history has shown, "the highest aim of enemy [i.e., allied] propaganda—the revolutionizing of Germany—has come to pass."

We Immigrants

By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART

PROFESSOR EMERITUS, HARVARD UNIVERSITY; CHAIRMAN,
BOARD OF CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATES

BOTH IN THEIR public statistics and in their subconscious minds the people of the United States draw sharp social and political distinctions between Americans and immigrants. Much of the energy of the United States Census Office is devoted to bringing into relief the numbers, distribution, races and citizenship relations of that considerable increment of the population which was born outside the boundaries of the United States of America. Problems of immigration and of the immigrants occupy a considerable space in the brain cells of editors of the nation's press. They arouse conventions of sociologists and ethnologists and political scientists who roll the immigration question under their tongues like a sweet morsel.

One of the distinctions most carefully made by Federal authority is between the native-born element in the population and the foreign-born element; though everybody knows that, with the exception of the Indians (who are not more than one-seventh of 1 per cent of the total population), the whole population is made up of immigrants from other countries or the descendants of such immigrants. The various Sons and Daughters of Historic Periods and Localities are no more entitled to a special privilege of nativism than anybody else, except that they can count more decades before they reach back to an immigrant ancestor.

Our one exclusively American element is the aborigines, who originally spoke something like fifty different languages, and whose largest tribe—that of the Six Nations—may possibly at one time have numbered "10,000 guns" or 50,000 people. The present number of American Indians is officially stated at about 250,000. No sep-

arate enumeration of half-breeds or quarter-breeds or eight-breeds is available; but it seems probable that at least 50,000 of the enumerated Indians must hark back to some immigrant white ancestor.

Another group indubitably harks back to very unwilling immigrants from overseas; that is the Negro race. Never was a greater mistake made than the effort to develop the virgin lands of America by crude laborers stamped from birth with the visible proof that they came from savage African ancestors. If the story of the peopling of the interior with intelligent white immigrants of races kindred with the English teaches anything, it teaches that the slave trade, the slave system and the slave population were not necessary for the development of Southern lands. By waiting a few decades, the South might have attracted a similar population to that of the present Central and Western States.

The Negroes in all the United States, North as well as South, are distinguishable by hereditary physical characteristics which are perpetuated from generation to generation. Of the 11,000,000 persons classed by the census as Negroes, certainly a fourth and perhaps a third bear evidence of descent also from Caucasian ancestors. That is, a part of the Negro population shares in the same European origin as the greater part of born Americans. Yet socially, and to a large extent economically, all members of the Negro race are much more separated from the dominant white race than are the Indians, or descendants of Indians and whites, one of whom is Vice President of the United States. Many of them seem capable of a civilization equal to that of the whites.

Perhaps the lighter colored mulattoes, or even the black Negro, might eventually be absorbed with the white race, as they have been in some Latin-American countries, but for the stubborn fact that a person possessing as much as one-sixteenth of Negro blood is likely to be considered by the whites as a Negro.

Not much inferior in numbers to the Indians is the double group of persons of the Oriental races, counted in the census of 1920 at about 60,000 Chinese and 110,000 Japanese. Inasmuch as Chinese immigration has been practically prohibited since 1882 and Japanese since 1907, most of these people were presumably born within the boundaries of the United States; hence, under the statutes, they are citizens of the United States, both males and females. Under the present laws, China and Japan are allowed an annual quota of only 100. The American, Chinese and Japanese are practically closed race groups, since intermarriage with members of the white race is unusual. At present the number of actual Oriental immigrants, Chinese and Japanese, within the United States but born outside, is only about 20,000.

During the last decade an unwonted immigration has been pouring into the United States across the Mexican border. Under the present laws, immigration of Mexicans is not restricted except for reason of health or crime, and by payment of a government tax of \$10. Total Mexican immigration reported for the year ended June, 1929, is 40,154. Yet everybody on the border, including the government officials, is perfectly aware that at least 50,000 and perhaps 100,000 Mexicans have come over the border within twelve months without physical examination, without paying the tax, without any proofs of character, and that the whole Southwest is inundated with these people. Most of them are raw Indians, who may or may not speak Spanish. In the Southwestern cities they live in what are practically ghettos; they are not allowed to settle alongside native Americans or immi-

grants from Europe. Thousands are track hands, bringing up their families in freight cars left on a switch. There is much complaint, particularly in Los Angeles, that they are totally uneducated, and that the children grow up the same way. Their condition is almost that of servitude, relieved somewhat from the worst features of slavery by the fact that so many are employed by railroad and other corporations whose interest it is to protect them from violence or fraud by other people.

Another group of immigrants is difficult to define or estimate, because their tie is not national but religious. In various congregations are gathered over 4,000,000 Jews, in general an industrious and intelligent people, practically all of whose young people learn English. Family love is strong among them, and those who have reached the shores of America freely make sacrifices to bring over their kindred. Under the present quota system the allowance from those European countries in which there are most Jews is very small, for instance, only about 7,000 persons from Poland. Hence the present accretions of people of the Jewish faith, nearly all of one race, are not disturbing; but there is very strong pressure to reunite families on this side of the water and hence to widen the immigration laws.

One interesting and little observed fact is that there are about 400,000 American citizens who are in residence (not on journeys) in other countries, of whom something like 250,000 are in Canada. However, the current is small of these Americans who might be called "deimmigrants." Nowhere, except perhaps in Paris and Monte Carlo, is there any distinct group of resident Americans; and few of them exchange their citizenship for that of the country of residence.

These statements of fact and conditions are necessary for any adequate survey of the immigration question and of the present approach to something like an immigration crisis. The immigration of members of the white race

from almost anywhere on the globe is permitted; but since the World War it has been limited. Otherwise there would be millions more than at present competing for employment in the United States. The policy of free immigration of any man, woman or child not diseased or unsound of mind has absolutely broken down, after nearly three centuries of that almost unrestrained reception. At present the descendants of nineteenth century immigrants are as much interested in the policy of limitation as the descendants of the eighteenth century colonists.

By 1920 it became evident that unrestricted immigration must end. The conditions of Europe were such that the United States was likely to become the haven for ten million strangers. Till that time almost no one was barred on account of religious or political eccentricities; Voodooism, anarchism, socialism—any kind of "ism"—marched down the gangplank into the Promised Land. The principle of the immigration restriction laws of May 10, 1920, May 15, 1924 and May 29, 1928, is that former inhabitants of various nations had come into the United States and had formed a sort of amalgam of race groups, to which the country was accustomed and under which it had been prosperous. Hence the law aimed to admit newcomers from the various countries in proportion to the numbers from those particular countries that had already found lodgment in the United States.

A schedule worked out on this general principle was adopted in 1921 and a revised schedule in 1924. By the latest statute, which is now in effect, German immigrants to the number of about 26,000 are allowed annually, Great Britain and North Ireland together may send about 66,000; the Irish Free State about 18,000; Russia "European and Asiatic" 3,000, and so on. Most of these quotas are filled up every year, and hundreds of thousands of people have complied with the formalities at the European end and are waiting for their chance to be of the favored few who are admitted to Amer-

ica. Until now Canadian immigrants and immigrants from any American country south of the United States have not been restricted by law; and that has given the opportunity for the flood of undesirable Mexicans.

The present immigration policy of the United States has saved the country from a wave of immigration which would have brought over several millions of people of the same general class as the immigrants of the last fifty years; it has reduced the pressure of the unemployed; and it is reasonably satisfactory to the members of the various race and national units already in the country. The public schools and the public universities are mighty agents in planing down the race and national groups. The comparative ease of naturalization tends to remove the stigma of being a foreigner. No large ecclesiastical body is made up of people from a particular country, though in many cities may be found race units—a Czechoslovak settlement, a German colony, a Swedish area, a Polish district. Inter-marriages among race groups are frequent; the new arrivals of a particular race can no longer be overwhelming. The probability of the wearing down of race groups into a homogeneous American race is encouraging.

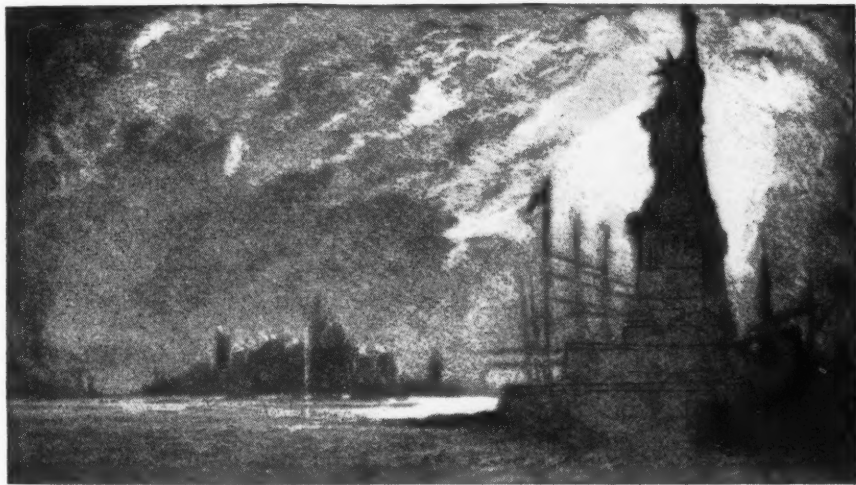
Several dark clouds, however, obscure a safe judgment of the future. The first of these is the present free admission of citizens, white, black or mixed, of the other American countries. With Canada there is very little difficulty, since there is a rather lively movement across the border in both directions. If the Latin Americans, and particularly the Indian Mexicans, insist on their privilege of entry, sooner or later a new race wall will be erected which will shut them out from entry, and thus from disturbance of the equilibrium.

The Latin-American countries are weak, and most of them have little superfluous population. With the Orient, however, conditions are different. If there were no bar on Chinese and Japanese immigration, without doubt

hundreds of thousands would come into our ports within a year, their passages in many cases paid by compatriots or by American corporations who want cheap and "reliable" labor, that is, labor that will "stay put." The Japanese Government is just now credited with a demand for a quota, under which only a few thousand Japanese at best would be admitted.

Such a concession, however, would ignore the most serious consequences of the importation of the Indian Mexican or of any Oriental people—East Indian, Chinese or Japanese. Presumably the same mixture would come about between the Caucasian and the Oriental races on the Pacific Coast as that between the Caucasian and the African races in the Eastern States. Not in 200 years would these darker races be put on the same social plane as the white

race, any more than between the Africans and the Caucasians; and the Orientals and Asiatic-Europeans, like the Africans, would always be physically distinguishable from the most numerous dominant race. Such a concession would therefore fix upon the United States a new issue of precisely the same nature as the present Negro question. There would be the same refusal to admit to equal social privileges and to equal rights the members of the yellow races lest the bars be broken down between them and the Caucasians. The result would be that the Pacific Coast, which is getting on very well with its variety of white groups, would be subject to the same internal and apparently irremediable race difficulty as that which now exists in the Southern States, and for that matter in the Northern States also.



From an etching by Joseph Pennell

Research Aids Aeronautics

By WATSON DAVIS

MANAGING EDITOR, SCIENCE SERVICE, WASHINGTON

SPEEDIER and better transportation by air, road, rail and water occupies much research attention in these days of mechanized living. While the development of airplanes, airships, automobiles, trains and ships has arrived at such a state that radical and entirely novel sorts of vehicles are to be expected, there has been and will continue to be vast improvement in the efficiency and usefulness of the transport instruments. In the youngest and therefore presumably the most fluid sector of the transport field, that of aeronautics, research is playing a larger part than in any other area. Contributions great in engineering skill and money saving have come out of such research laboratories as that of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics at Langley Field. And now two new and unique research aids to better airplanes are under construction at the Langley Memorial Aeronautical Laboratory at Langley Field, Va. One will be the largest wind tunnel in the world, in which a whole airplane can be tested. The other will be the world's largest testing basin, a covered body of water nearly half a mile long, 25 feet wide and 12 feet deep.

The governmental aeronautical research laboratory already has the largest wind tunnel in the world, the propeller research tunnel, with a testing diameter of 20 feet. In a wind tunnel the stream of air flows past an airplane part or test specimen that is held stationary, and this is exactly the same as though an airplane were moving through still air. The engineers can therefore tell just what happens to an airplane in the air without the risk and inconvenience of actual flying. Precise scales and instruments attached to the

airplane under test give data that allow better design and financial savings by airplane designers. Airplane speed has been increased 10 to 12 miles per hour by the N. A. C. A. cowling developed in the 20-foot tunnel. The wind tunnel now under construction will have a rectangular mouth 30 by 60 feet. An airplane will be able to be taken from the flying field to the wind tunnel and put under test without any change whatever. A large building covering an area 434 by 222 feet will house the new giant tunnel. Two large propellers, each 35½ feet in diameter and powered by 4,000 horsepower electric motors, will furnish the air stream that will be equivalent to the rush of an airplane through the air in actual flight.

The seaplane testing basin also under construction is 2,060 feet long and will probably be in operation late this year. In it flying boats will be given test runs at speeds up to 60 miles an hour. Both navy and commercial users of planes that land on water are eager to have adequate test information as to how floats and other water landing gear can best be built. At present floats and pontoons on seaplanes and amphibians are built more or less by rule of thumb because of lack of knowledge of the way they carry their loads. The testing basin is expected to furnish information that will allow better, more efficient and cheaper construction.

The most universal substance in the world, unseen at all times and unfelt except when the wind blows, is keeping automobiles from running faster, just as it lifts as well as drags backward airplanes. When cars travel above forty miles per hour more power is required to overcome air resistance than road resistance, Professor Felix W.

Pawlowski of the University of Michigan has reported to the American Society of Automotive Engineers. At a speed of fifty miles per hour the wind resistance of the usual motor car is between 110 and 170 pounds, absorbing between fifteen and twenty-three horsepower of the engine output. At 100 miles per hour these figures would be quadrupled. Besides increasing speed, streamlining automobiles would also have the advantage of not stirring up dust clouds on gravel roads. These dust clouds visualize very well the character and size of eddies produced by cars.

A commercial Diesel engine is now available for airplanes and the probabilities are that automobiles without ignition systems and averaging twenty-five miles on a gallon of 6-cent crude oil are not far distant. A Diesel engine which accomplished these economies was recently operated successfully in a seven-passenger sedan and a roadster by C. L. Cummins of Columbus, Ind. The widespread use of this kind of engine depends on additional technical perfection which should be accomplished through scientific research during the next few years. In Europe, where the cost of gasoline is very high, the Diesel engine is already being applied to trucks and motor buses. Plans to put such an engine on the market in America have been announced. It promises to compare favorably with present-day standard gasoline engines in truck and bus service. The engine used in the sedan and roadster was designed primarily for marine service, but was adapted to the automobile. During the entire 6,000 miles the sedan was driven its performance was practically the same as with standard equipment originally used. The only noticeable difference was a little sluggishness on the pick-up from zero to twenty miles per hour. Top speed was fifty-five miles per hour. The same engine in the lighter car made a speed of eighty-eight miles per hour and acceleration was better. In spite of this excellent performance much development must be done before the Diesel will be suitable for use in the ordinary passenger car. Its cost and

weight must be reduced and it must be made more flexible. The Diesel has been used primarily in small stationary power plants, locomotives and ships. Its weight per horse power has been many times that of the automobile engine and its speed constant and slow.

Two vibrating white reeds on the instrument boards of New York-Cleveland mail planes paint an air path visible in fog, rain and snow over 250 miles of the worst flying terrain in the United States. This visual radio range beacon is installed supplementary to the aural type radio range beacon that has been in use at Bellefonte, Pa., in the Appalachian Mountains, for more than eighteen months, and if it proves satisfactory will probably replace the aural beacon and be extended to other parts of the country. Its installation is necessitating expensive changes in transmitting equipment and the addition of a reed box to planes. The apparatus is a joint development of the United States Bureau of Standards and the aeronautic branch of the Department of Commerce. The aviator tells whether he is on the right path by watching two white reeds vibrate. If the reed on the left vibrates most, he has veered off to the left of his course. If the amplitude of the right-hand reed is greatest, the plane is too far to the right. When both vibrate alike the plane is on its true course. The aural beacon system now in use gives the same information by coded signals picked up in the head phones. Great concentration is required of the pilot and he must wear the phones practically all the time. Neither beacon system makes unnecessary the searchlights which are installed at ten-mile intervals. When the weather is open the lights can be followed, but when the aviator must go for miles through fog, rain or snow which completely hide the ground and lights, he has to rely on the beacon to keep him on his course. A test flight from Detroit to Washington through bad visibility was made almost entirely by beacon signals and not by maps. The path of the beacon will bring the pilot close enough to the landing field for him to

see the ground lights and make a descent by sight. No effort is to be made at the present time to put in practice "blind" landing as accomplished by Lieutenant James H. Doolittle for the Guggenheim Fund.

The construction of a \$350,000 National Hydraulic Laboratory at the United States Bureau of Standards at Washington has been authorized by Congress. Enough projects to keep the laboratory busy for a long time are ready to be submitted by the United States Reclamation Bureau, the Bureau of Public Roads and the Geological Survey. The laboratory will doubtless be completed in time to conduct some tests for Boulder Dam, and the Chief of Engineers of the United States Army may request experiments in connection with Mississippi flood control. It is intended primarily for fundamental studies in hydraulics. The erection of the laboratory comes as an indirect result of the efforts of a well-known hydraulic engineer, John R. Freeman, to make a research in river hydraulics in this country comparable with that in Europe. Surprised at advances abroad in the solution of river problems by model tests and anxious to bring this information to America and establish these methods in this country, Mr. Freeman provided scholarships to enable young American hydraulic engineers to study in Europe. These returning students and a book by Mr. Freeman describing European laboratories and methods have largely caused the adoption of more modern practices and the establishing of up-to-date laboratories in this country.

The growth of plants can be seen with a new form of interferometer devised by Professor K. W. Meissner of Frankfort, Germany. The instrument is a modification of the interferometer invented by Professor A. A. Michelson, of the University of Chicago, and used by him in his epoch-making experiments with light. The interferometer is literally a device which permits the measurement of very tiny distances, far beyond the reach of the most powerful microscopes, by means of light-

waves. A beam of light from a lamp is separated into two rays at a lightly silvered glass plate, and each of the two beams is reflected from a mirror, the two being reflected back to the plate, where they reunite and fall into an observing telescope. When two such beams are properly superposed, they are capable of "interfering," and we have the curious situation of light added to light giving darkness at certain points. For what one sees in the telescope is not a uniformly illuminated field, but a series of alternating bright and dark bands, or "interference fringes." If, now, one of the mirrors be slightly displaced, the fringe pattern moves to one side, and the distance it moves is a measure of the motion of the mirror. So sensitive is the method that it is readily possible to measure a displacement of the mirror of a millionth of an inch.

Professor Meissner mounted the entire instrument vertically, thus bringing a whole new range of measurable phenomena within its scope. The movable mirror is carried by one arm of a trip-scales arrangement which permits a vertical motion of the mirror. The scales are very nearly balanced, and the mirror arm allowed to rest very lightly on the stem of the plant whose rate of growth is to be measured. As the plant grows, it pushes up the movable mirror, and the interference bands in the telescope are seen to wander across the field. Simply counting the number which pass a given mark in a certain time gives the rate of growth, which is of the order of one hundred-thousandth of an inch per second for most plants, so that a single line would move more than its own width in a second. Ether fumes are wafted over the plant and almost immediately the growth ceases; a mercury lamp, rich in ultra-violet rays, is switched on, and the rate of growth increases many fold. It is such investigations as these which the botanist Professor Laibach is carrying out with the new instrument. Professor Meissner, in demonstrating his device before the Congress of Physicists and Mathematicians in

Prague, pointed out, among other uses of the instrument, the measurement of crystal growth and the analysis of musical tones and vibrations.

The United States Pharmacopoeia is about to undergo its decennial revision. A convention recently met at Washington to inaugurate the task. That never in the history of the world have the possibilities of adding to the list of valuable drugs been so great as at the present time was the opinion of Dr. Reid Hunt, president of the United States Pharmacopoeial Convention and Professor of Pharmacology at Harvard Medical School. We may yet get more drugs from the plant and animal kingdoms. There is no limit to the number that the chemist and the pharmacologist may synthesize in their laboratories. But even more important is the possibility that new and important uses may be found for drugs which we already have, Dr. Hunt said. Some of the saddest pages in the history of mankind have written on them the failure of physicians to see the possibilities for treating disease with well-known chemicals. Ether was known to doctors and chemists for nearly 300 years before it was used as an anesthetic. Another drug, amyl nitrite, a few drops of which relieves the frightful agony of one form of heart disease, was well known to chemists for twenty-three years before it was used to treat this condition. The same delayed application was repeated in the case of other anesthetics and many other drugs. They were well known chemically for years before any one tried them in the treatment of disease and for the relief of pain. Today, said Dr. Hunt, "relief may be obtained anywhere in the world for a few cents which fifty years ago was beyond the reach of any potentate or Croesus." Research is needed to investigate the medical possibilities of the 258,000 organic compounds which chemists have already carefully described chemically and physically, Dr. Hunt said. New compounds are being added to the list at the rate of about twenty a day. Dr. Hunt declared America's facilities for studying the medical applications of

these new compounds are very inadequate compared with research activity in Germany and other European countries.

Synthetic stars shine upon the man-made celestial canopy of America's first planetarium, located on Chicago's lake front. Enter the new building with a large low dome and you will be able to see, upon demand, a light-painted replica of the heavens as they look at any time, past, present or future, and from any place on the face of the globe. In the centre of the dome's interior stands an apparatus containing the eyes and mechanical brain of the Zeiss planetarium. At each end of a complicated cylinder structure, as tall as several men, are large, globular knobs studded with lenses. Within are lantern slides with star images upon them and behind are powerful electric lights that project the light pictures of stars upon the dome above. Imagine a very clear night sky—the sort of a sky that one sees from a high mountain far from the lights and dust of a city. Unlike the night sky ordinarily seen by city dwellers, the Milky Way can be seen down to the horizon and thousands of stars gaze down on the observer. And as imagination can have full reign, picture how by some divinely conferred power this sky can be altered at the will of the observer. It can be made to appear as the sky would be seen from any part of the earth from the North Pole to the South, as it has appeared thousands of years ago, or will appear in the distant future. Such effects cannot be seen in the real sky but they are obtained through the use of the planetarium. The Adler Planetarium and Astronomical Museum is the gift of Max Adler, a retired Chicago business man. The instrument is the product of the ingenuity of Dr. W. Bauersfeld, engineer at the Carl Zeiss Optical Works at Jena, Germany. Professor Philip Fox is director of the Adler planetarium. While the Adler planetarium is the first in America, some fifteen similar instruments provide entertainment and instruction in Vienna and other European cities.

Aerial Events of the Month

THE GRAF ZEPPELIN continues to make strides in the advancement of the regular commercial use of lighter-than-air craft in transatlantic crossings. On May 18, with a crew of forty-two, passengers numbering twenty-two and a large quantity of mail, Captain Eckener piloted the Zeppelin from Friedrichshafen to Seville on the first leg of an 18,000-mile round-trip from Germany to South America, the United States and back. The whole flight, scheduled to take twenty-three days, was actually completed in nineteen. The Zeppelin reached Seville the next day; on May 20 she left on the long sea-leg of the journey, reaching Pernambuco, Brazil, on May 22, the first lighter-than-air craft to cross the Equator and fly in southern waters. The flight of 4,000 miles proved the route chosen to be a good one, and gave promise that with the help of planes a six-day journey would soon be feasible between Berlin and Buenos Aires. For four days the Zeppelin toured Brazil, stopping on May 25 at Rio de Janeiro. The craft was by this time somewhat behind schedule, owing to delay in taking off from Pernambuco. This was regrettable because with the desire to prove the commercial value of the flight, the managers of the Zeppelin had hired the field at Lakehurst at commercial rates; every day's delay lowered by untold sums the Zeppelin's treasury. The cruise from Pernambuco to Rio de Janeiro and back took forty-eight hours, whereas planes had hitherto taken forty-eight hours for the one-way voyage. On May 28 the Zeppelin took off for Lakehurst; plans to stop at Havana were abandoned because of bad weather and lack of fuel, and the ship landed in the United States on May 31. After two days to take on fuel and supplies the craft was off again on the return voyage. She stopped to drop pas-

sengers at Seville on June 5, and reached Friedrichshafen on June 6.

Covering approximately the same route, east to west, earlier in the month, Jean Mermoz made the first transatlantic mail flight. With two companions he left St. Louis, Senegal, on the west coast of Africa, for Natal, Brazil, carrying with him mail which had left Paris a day and a half before. It was thought, with the success of the flight, that the French Government destroyers, which have heretofore carried mail from France to South America, would be eliminated. Mermoz reached Natal on May 13, after twenty hours in the air, and mail for Buenos Aires arrived there the next day, thus cutting from seven to four the number of days necessary to carry French mail to Brazil. The return trip inaugurating also the first airmail service from South America to Europe, was delayed because of poor weather conditions. Two starts resulted in failure and on June 9, Mermoz was still waiting for fair weather.

English aerial circles were thrilled by the flight of 22-year-old Amy Johnson, who on May 24 completed a solo flight from Croyden, England, to Australia. Miss Johnson, the first woman to dare the 12,000-mile air trip from England to Australia, set out on May 5, hoping to beat the record of Bert Hinkler, who made the trip in sixteen and one-half days. Delays and accidents in India and Java kept Miss Johnson from making a record, but the story of her lonely heroism in flying through storms and over unknown jungle lands, nevertheless touched the imaginations of the British and Austrian peoples. On June 2, when the King's birthday honors list was announced, she was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire.

Colonel Pablo Sidar, head of the Mexican Army Air Service, with Cap-

tain Carlos Rovirso, started on May 11 from Mexico to make a non-stop flight to Buenos Aires, hoping to break the world distance record. The afternoon of the same day, apparently forced off its course by storms, the plane fell into the Caribbean off the shore of Costa Rica. Both men lost their lives. Captain Rovirso was drowned. The body of Colonel Sidar, which was found in the plane, was taken by plane from Costa Rica to Mexico for a State funeral. The aerial procession was attended by three other planes, among them that of Captain Lewis Yancey, who was making a good-will trip from the United States to South America.

Captain Yancey's good-will trip started from Roosevelt Field on May 14. With his companions, Emil Burgin, pilot, and Zeh Bouck, radio operator, Yancey was received by President Hoover on May 14 on their way south. The trip was planned to promote trade relations between the United States and South America and to make experiments in the aerial use of radio. By May 17 the plane was in Cuba, and on June 2, after five days in Mexico, Captain Yancey landed at Panama. On June 8 and 9 Captain Yancey flew from Balboa to Lima, Peru. Owing to the bad condition of the field at the canal zone he was forced to lighten the plane by leaving behind Zeh Bouck, who was to rejoin the plane at Lima.

A transcontinental record was broken on May 27 by Lieut. Col. Roscoe Turner, who earlier in the month had failed to break the west-east record set by Colonel Lindbergh and his wife during April. Lieut. Col. Turner made the east to west crossing in 18 hours and 42 minutes. The previous record was 19 hours and 10 minutes.

Frank Goldsborough, aged 19 years, became holder of the junior transcontinental record when he completed a round-trip flight from New Jersey to Los Angeles and back. The flight started on April 28.

The two ships of the Byrd Antarctic expedition, after seventy long, stormy days at sea, finally reached Balboa on May 31. Three days later, on June 3, Admiral Byrd boarded the City of New York, setting sail on the last lap of his return voyage to New York. The ship City of New York was soon followed by the Eleanor Bolling, carrying other members of the expedition.

Lieutenant Apollo Soucek on June 4 set for the second time a world altitude record for land planes. His first record, made a year ago, was broken by the German pilot, William Neuenhofen, a month later, making the altitude mark of 41,795 feet. Lieutenant Soucek's recent mark is 43,166 feet. Lieutenant Soucek also holds the record for seaplanes of 38,560 feet.

A MONTH'S HISTORY OF THE NATIONS

INTERNATIONAL EVENTS

By JOHN B. WHITTON

DIRECTOR, SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

DURING THE PAST month the London naval treaty has been widely discussed, particularly in the United States, Great Britain and Japan. In the United States Senate an investigation was commenced by the Foreign Relations Committee on May 12 and by the Naval Affairs Committee on May 14. Its main opponents were Senators Hale and Johnson, its chief defenders Senators Reed and Robinson and Secretaries Stimson and Adams. Both committees examined at great length the naval advisers to our delegation at London and also some members of the Navy General Board. Opposition centred upon three points: first, contention that the treaty gives the United States too many small cruisers and not enough large ones; second, that Japan was given a higher rating than the 5-5-3 ratio; third, the escalator clause, whereby the United States, Great Britain and Japan may enlarge their construction program on due notice of building by other nations. The first objection, the most serious of the three, was considerably weakened by the testimony of Admiral Pratt, commander-in-chief of the American fleet, who defended the allocation made between large and small cruisers. In general, the claim made by big navy Admirals that the treaty would endanger the security of the United States was compromised by similar

claims made by like-minded British and Japanese Admirals in commenting upon the treaty's effect upon the safety of their respective countries. When the Senate investigation threatened to become prolonged, a note of warning from President Hoover brought assurances that the treaty would soon be acted upon, if not during the present session, then in a special session to be called immediately for that purpose. On May 28 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee completed its public hearings and on May 29 the Naval Affairs Committee likewise ended its public investigation. During the week of June 2 a private study of secret documents was commenced. The Foreign Relations Committee ran into trouble when Senator Johnson demanded a complete file of secret documents bearing upon the treaty. There was considerable fear manifested that this would postpone ratification.

In Great Britain, since both Labor and Liberal parties favored the treaty, its approval seemed assured in Parliament, although action by this body is not required for ratification. Even the Conservative party was not solid in opposition; on May 16 only 140 of the 260 members would sign a pledge against the accords. Big navy men, however, have manifested their disapproval of the treaty, both in the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and a par-

ticularly bitter fight took place in the Commons on June 2, when a motion introduced by the Conservatives to refer the treaty to a special committee for study was defeated by 282 to 201. Winston Churchill contended that the treaty would make the British fleet inferior to the American Navy, and that "never since the reign of Charles II has this country been so defenseless."

The Canadian House of Commons has approved the treaty and has transmitted it to the Senate for final ratification.

In Japan also ratification is expected, although there as elsewhere the big navy men have been in active opposition. Admiral Kato, chief of the Naval Staff, was so violently inimical to the London accords that he threatened to resign, and his protégé, Lieutenant Kusakari, killed himself, it is believed, because of like opinions. On the other hand, the treaty has some formidable defenders. They include Admiral Takarabe, Minister of the Navy, just returned from London, and Premier Hamaguchi, who has begun an active campaign for ratification. On May 30 the naval members of the Supreme Military Council were convened to discuss Admiral Takarabe's report on the treaty. It was reported that the latter at this meeting reversed his former attitude; he backed Admiral Kato and other members of the council in their decision that the government should have obtained the approval of the Naval Staff before accepting the treaty. It was felt, nevertheless, that the treaty was the best obtainable in the circumstances.

A new epoch in the history of reparations was reached this past month when the Dawes plan came to an end and the Young plan, its successor, went into operation. The final step was taken on May 9, when the British and Italian ratifications of the Young plan were deposited in Paris. On the same day and also at Paris a protocol registering the decisions of The Hague Conference, where on Jan. 20 the interested States adopted the plan, was signed by

the representatives of Great Britain, Belgium, Italy and France. These final steps, as pointed out last month, were made possible by the settlement on April 26 of the vexing reparations differences among the Balkan nations.

Momentous consequences have followed. The Reparations Commission has disappeared and its work has been taken over by the Bank for International Settlements. Parker Gilbert's task has terminated; that of Gates W. McGarrah has commenced. The last French troops have been ordered from the Rhine and the final evacuation was to have been completed by June 30. Reparations, it would seem, have left the realm of politics and have assumed a purely commercial or business status.

The formal dissolution of the Reparations Commission occurred on May 17, when a report was issued in Paris by this body and the *Kriegslasten*, or War Burden Commission, officially transferred the control of reparations to the World Bank. This institution took over the tasks of both the *Kriegslasten* and the Reparations Commission. The bank announced that it had received from the German Government the certificates of indebtedness covering the Young plan annuities. The Transfer Committee which met in Berlin on the same day authorized the final transfer of the remaining Dawes plan funds, and accordingly Parker Gilbert turned over to the World Bank some \$36,000,000.

Just before ending its labors, the Reparations Commission burned 132,000,000,000 marks in German A, B and C bonds, issued in 1921, and 11,000,000,000 marks of railroad bonds created under the Dawes plan. Meanwhile the Bank of France was burning another relic of the Dawes plan, 5,000,000,000 marks in German industrial bonds. Thus, as Germany began paying the \$9,000,000,000 of Young plan obligations, nearly \$40,000,000,000 in earlier paper promises were being destroyed. Parker Gilbert meanwhile was winding up the Dawes plan at Berlin. After paying the last funds to the World Bank,

as already noted, he left the German capital on May 23. Thus was brought to an end a task accomplished with remarkable tact and brilliance. While engineering the payment to the Allies, in cash and kind, of over \$2,000,000,000 he won the confidence and admiration of all parties. Gaston Leverve, commissioner of the German railways under the Dawes plan, also wound up his duties, for under the Young accord Germany regains full independence in this matter.

On May 20, 124,000 shares of the capital stock of the Bank for International Settlements were subscribed for in ten countries. This represented 62 per cent of the bank's authorized capitalization of about \$100,000,000. The subscription of the balance is fully provided for and will follow in due course.

The task of floating the first annuity loan has not been an easy one. Bonds for the sum of \$300,000,000 are to be

floated. Of this sum, \$200,000,000 represents annuities bonds, or commercialized reparations payments; the balance of \$100,000,000 is to benefit German railway and postal services. The issuance of these bonds required the solution of certain delicate problems which included the number of shares of the loan which each participating country should assume, the issue price and the interest rate. Furthermore, the mixed nature of the loan made it extremely difficult to arrange for the service of its two constituent portions. At their first official meeting on May 12 the board of directors of the bank found it impossible to solve these problems. Accordingly they referred them to a meeting of the investment bankers which opened in Paris on May 21. Again agreement was found impossible, and a special committee of four, which included Arthur Anderson of J. P. Morgan & Co., was entrusted with the solution of the outstanding problems.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

WITH MANY committees at work and the 59th meeting of the Council of the League of Nations from May 12 to 15, Geneva was a busy place during the month.

The Committee on Arbitration and Security concluded its meetings on May 9. Its principal accomplishments were the adoption of a draft resolution assuring the use of aircraft to the League in times of emergency and regulating such use, and a draft convention providing for financial assistance to States victims of or threatened with aggression. Both projects will come before the Assembly in September for adoption.

The text of the Convention for Financial Assistance was framed with the cooperation of the financial committee. Its underlying purpose is to render promptly and effectively such financial aid as may be necessary to safeguard from aggression a threatened nation and to restore peace in the case of hos-

tilities actually begun. It is proposed that loans shall be made to the State in need, guaranteed by the contracting parties to the convention. States not members of the League, if they so desire, may also participate as guarantors of such loans. The various views advanced on the subject of whether the Council must grant financial assistance or whether it may use its discretion in the matter are embodied in the draft. The general principle recognized is that "in the case of war in breach of international obligations, the State attacked has the right to financial assistance, but that, on the other hand, the Council possesses discretionary powers to take a decision constituting a departure from this principle."

On the third topic before the committee—the draft convention for preventing war based on the German model treaty of 1928—progress was limited. The fundamental differences between the British and French views regard-

ing obligations under the League covenant cropped up again and blocked the way to agreement on methods for strengthening war-prevention machinery. The committee compromised by drawing up two separate texts as a basis for the convention—"A" and "B," embodying the French and British views, respectively. Text "A" sets forth in specific terms the obligation of contracting parties to follow the Council's recommendations in case of threatened hostilities and provides for supervision by League commissioners of the execution of these measures. The enforcement of sanctions under Article XVI of the covenant is also required against any violator of the convention. Text "B" recognizes the obligation of contracting parties but only up to a certain point, and treats the supervision of Council measures in much more general terms. The draft convention comprising both texts will be sent to the various governments for their opinions.

Notwithstanding some criticism, notably in the German press, the next meeting of the Preparatory Disarmament Commission has been definitely put off until Nov. 3. It is hoped that by that time some of the differences between France and Italy will have been solved. Apart from the question of naval parity, the main problems for settlement between the two countries are the definite readjustment of the southern boundary of Tripolitania and the treatment of Italians resident in Tunis. The former question is practically settled; the latter, while more stubborn, can no doubt ultimately be worked out. It must be admitted that Mussolini's recent sword-rattling speeches, following the announcement of Italy's projected 43,000-ton program for naval building this year, have not helped to foster Franco-Italian amity.

An important contribution toward solution of the impasse, however, was the informal conversations, at the time of the Council session, between M. Briand, Signor Grandi and Mr. Henderson, the Foreign Ministers of France, Italy and Great Britain. It seems to be

generally felt that the "invisible" results accomplished by just such informal discussions as these at Geneva during the Council session were of even greater value than the "visible" work done by the Council. The presence of seven Foreign Ministers—those of Germany, Poland, Finland and Yugoslavia, in addition to those mentioned—made possible an exchange of views on important problems not on the Council agenda, such as the Rhineland evacuation, the Saar question and the proposed European federation, as well as the Franco-Italian situation.

The principal action taken by the Council may be summarized under a few main headings:

Health and Social Welfare—The Health Committee's plans for cooperation with China in reorganizing its health service were approved. Bulgaria was granted aid in fighting social disease. Detailed investigation of the traffic in women in the Far East was provided for by the establishment of two committees, one to study the problem on the ground and one to be stationed in Geneva. For this work the Bureau of Social Hygiene of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York has granted \$125,000.

Opium—The Opium Advisory Committee was enlarged to include members from Austria, Belgium, Egypt, Spain, Mexico, Poland and Uruguay, all non-manufacturing countries. Ratification of the International Opium Convention of 1925 is to be urged upon Central and South American States, and Turkish co-operation in the anti-narcotic work will be requested. An international conference is to be called early in December for the limitation of drug manufacture.

Palestine—A special committee was appointed to study the Wailing Wall controversy in Jerusalem. At this writing the Palestine problem is being taken up by the Permanent Mandates Commission, which began an extraordinary session on June 3 for the specific purpose of investigating thoroughly the history of last year's trouble, the peace measures already taken and precautions against future conflicts.

World Court—Signatories to the protocol revising the World Court statute will be asked to ratify or advise the Council of objections before Aug. 20. If no objections are filed, the protocol will go into force on Sept. 1. The vacancy left on the World Court bench by the resignation of Charles Evans Hughes will be filled during the September Assembly session for the three months of the term which will then remain.

Appointments—Numerous appointments were made, among them that of Dr. Julius Ruppel (Germany) to succeed Dr. Ludwig Kastl on the Mandates Commission.

Completed Work—Among the matters conspicuous for their absence from the Council agenda were the long-troublesome Hungarian Optants question and the Bolivia-Paraguay dispute, both of which have been satisfactorily settled. The work of the Greek Refugee Settlement Commission has been wound up and the Commission of Financial Control for Hungary has been disbanded.

Through a special committee the League has recently been studying the subject of ratification of its conventions, looking into the reasons for delay in such ratifications and ways and means of increasing them. Already this investigation has borne fruit in a large number of ratifications and signatures by governments during the past month. On the last day of the Council session Señor Cornejo of Peru signed fourteen international instruments. Denmark deposited her ratification of several conventions, among them the international opium convention and the general act for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Siam is the twenty-seventh government to ratify the optional clause for compulsory jurisdiction of the Permanent Court of International Justice. Yugoslavia has recently signed this clause but has not yet ratified. The slavery convention, signed at Geneva in September, 1926, has just been ratified by Liberia.

Progress in the task of unifying laws on bills of exchange, promissory notes and checks has been made by the conference which met at Geneva on May 13 for the purpose of welding into uniformity, as nearly as possible, the many variations of the so-called "Continental" system (as distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon), thus reducing to two the systems in use. Ultimate unification into a single system is looked forward to. Martin H. Kennedy, United States Trade Commissioner at London, represented the American Government at the conference as expert and adviser, and was assisted by James W. Riddleberger, Vice Consul at Geneva.

Other Americans prominent in economic activities of the League, who visited Geneva for committee hearings during May and the early part of June were Jeremiah Smith Jr. of Boston, a member of the Financial Committee; Lucius Eastman of New York, on the Economic Committee, and Professor T. S. Adams of Yale University, a member of the Fiscal Committee which is studying the problems connected with double taxation of foreigners. This study is to be facilitated by a gift of \$90,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation, and it is possible that an American will be attached to the League secretariat to carry on scientific investigation along these lines.

Of great interest in League circles is the recent appointment by the United States Department of State of Prentiss Gilbert, assistant chief of the Division of Western European Affairs, to the Geneva Consulate. The assignment of so experienced an official to Geneva is considered another indication of the American Government's increasing recognition of the League.

The definite launching on May 17 of M. Briand's project for a United States of Europe is dealt with in two articles on pages 658-665 of this magazine, while the great loss suffered by the League in the death of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen is referred to on page 646.

THE UNITED STATES

RATIFICATION OF the London naval treaty appeared to be a certainty in spite of the fact that twenty-three Admirals and three other high naval officers expressed their opposition to it in Senate hearings during the last two weeks in May. Defending the treaty were Secretaries Stimson and Adams, Senators Reed and Robinson, all members of the delegation, and Admirals Pratt, Yarnell, Moffett and Hepburn, technical advisers in London.

Testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations and Naval Affairs Committees made it clear that the Navy General Board as well as a preponderance of opinion in the navy considered that the treaty departed from established naval policy on three points. First, it was contended, parity was not attained. Second, Japan's 5-3 ratio of the Washington conference was raised to 10-6. Third, the delegations surrendered to British preference, it was alleged, in the distribution of 8-inch and 6-inch gun cruisers.

The dissenting admirals considered the last objection by far the most serious. The question concerned the relative value to our navy of 10,000-ton 8-inch gun cruisers and smaller cruisers mounting 6-inch guns. The treaty gives superiority to the United States in the 8-inch category and to Great Britain in the 6-inch category, and allows this country the following choice of distribution of tonnage:

	United States.	Great Britain.
Cruisers over 6-in. guns.	180,000	150,000
Cruisers with 6-in. guns.	143,500	189,000
		146,800
		192,200

Thus, for Great Britain's fifteen large cruisers the United States may have eighteen, with only sixteen to be completed by December, 1935. The naval experts made two objections to this provision, namely, that the delegation went to London demanding twenty-three large cruisers and came back with eighteen, and that the six-

inch gun cruisers, with their small cruising and firing range, were useless to protect the commerce of a country without naval bases. Thus, they contended, to achieve parity in tonnage we would be forced to build ships unsuited to our needs.

In essential agreement on this view were Rear Admiral Hilary P. Jones, former commander of the fleet, who was a member of the delegation to London until forced by illness to return; Rear Admiral Mark Bristol, chairman of the Navy General Board; Rear Admirals Reeves, Hough and Day of the General Board and Admiral Charles F. Hughes, chief of operations. The General Board, the testimony revealed, was not consulted in the negotiations after September, 1929.

In defense of the cruiser provision, Admiral Pratt, commander-in-chief of the fleet and chief technical adviser to the delegation, outlined the advantages of 6-inch guns at short range and in night encounters. "I have a very definite reason," he said cryptically, "that has come up lately, that makes me see a greater advantage in the 6-inch gun cruisers than ever before." He concluded: "You build up our navy under this treaty and I won't swap it. It suits me; and I say this as the one who would have to do the fighting with the navy at the present time."

Admiral Yarnell brought out the further possibility that if 10,000-ton cruisers were equipped with 6-inch guns they could be more heavily armored and better protected against the enemy's eight-inch guns.

Secretary Adams admitted frankly that the American delegation had made concessions, but, he added, so had the other powers. He revealed the fact that the two compromises which the naval experts denounced were necessary to the success of the conference, namely, cruiser reduction and the 10-6 ratio with Japan. "We went as far as we could go in trying to get twenty-one

8-inch gun cruisers without breaking off negotiations," he said. "The question is not, I think, whether we yielded something. Of course we made a compromise. The question is whether we made a just compromise, whether the treaty is on the whole advantageous and whether we yielded too much. I think we did not."

Secretary Stimson was also of the opinion that the United States had done well at the conference, that virtual parity had been achieved and that compromises had been made by all. He described the dangerous delicacy of the negotiations, and revealed as an interesting sidelight the fact that the American delegation went to London not bound by any specific instructions from the President. Nor did Mr. Hoover intervene at any time during the proceedings.

Hearings before the Foreign Relations Committee ended on May 28, and the committee set about writing its report. But an impasse was suddenly reached when Senator Johnson of California, leader of the opposition, demanded that the State Department sub-

mit all its confidential correspondence bearing on the London conference to the committee. Acting on the unwritten law that official correspondence between friendly nations is confidential until published by mutual consent, Secretary Stimson refused this request, but submitted a memorandum designed to clear up the questions at issue. Senator Johnson protested that to withhold full data was to "abrogate the Constitution itself." This complication caused considerable delay in submitting the treaty, and it was obvious that a weary Senate, still burdened with a tariff bill, might be inclined to put off ratification till next Fall. But President Hoover announced that, if the Senate adjourned this session without acting, he would call a special session immediately to deal with the treaty.

While the Admirals were accusing American delegates of abandoning American naval policy, betraying American interests and "crippling" our fleet, the British and Japanese statesmen were being subjected to identical attacks by their own naval experts. It appeared that each nation had been

outwitted by the others at the London conference—a situation which inspired one editorial writer to propose a temporary exchange of Admirals. "It would be most helpful," suggested *The New York World*, "if Mr. Winston Churchill could be imported to Washington to show the Senate how Mr. Stimson waylaid Mr. MacDonald, if the General Board could be exported to London to show how the wily Britons seduced the innocent Americans, if Senator Johnson could be wafted to Japan to show how America was bamboozled, and if a few Japanese Admirals could be produced in Washington to demonstrate what a terrible bargain the Yankees forced the Japanese to accept. For, by the testimony of the big-navy groups in all three



Adams Service

"WE CAN'T BE FAR WRONG"

nations, this three-power limitation treaty is a triangular disaster. Everybody defeated everybody else. We are all ruined and we are all defenseless."

THE TARIFF

The Senate was entering on the final week of debate which was to decide the fate of the tariff bill as this magazine went to press. For the first time there was serious conjecture that it might be defeated in that body by one or two votes.

The debenture died another of its already numerous deaths when the Senate on May 19 voted 43 to 41 to release its conferees from their obligation not to strike it out in conference. As a result the joint conference dropped the debenture clause from the tariff bill on May 21 and compromised on the three remaining rate differences—lumber, silver and cement.

These proceedings automatically transferred to the flexible provision the title of "chief stumbling block." As the issues became clearly defined the question of the flexible clause resolved itself into a three-cornered battle for power among the President, Congress and the Tariff Commission. For the past eight years the President has wielded that power. According to a provision of the Fordney-McCumber bill, the President has, on recommendation from the Tariff Commission, proclaimed changes in rates within 50 per cent above or below the existing figure. This same provision was embodied in the Hawley bill passed by the House in May, 1929. The Senate, in the grip of an anti-administration Democratic-Insurgent majority transferred this power to Congress in the Smoot bill passed in March, 1930.

The Senate provision was condemned as an excuse for continuous log-rolling. The House provision was called unconstitutional and an excuse for continuous rate-raising by the President. Several times Mr. Hoover has made it clear that he believes the flexible power should be reserved to the President as the most prompt and scientific method of adjusting rates to changing industrial conditions. There followed a deadlock

until, after relinquishing the debenture, the Senate applied the same test to the flexible clause. The result was a tie (43 to 43), and Vice President Curtis cast the deciding vote, which gave the conferees a free hand to compromise this question also. The compromise clause submitted by the joint conference on May 23 gave the disputed power neither to Congress nor the President, but to the Tariff Commission. That body, it provided, was to fix the new rate after investigation, leaving the President the right merely to approve or disapprove. If he failed to act within sixty days the commission might proclaim its recommendation in effect. But this last provision caused the bill to be returned to conference on a ruling by Vice President Curtis that it was new material which the conferees did not have a right to introduce into the bill. The clause was accordingly eliminated and the President was given unlimited time to decide upon a recommendation. The Tariff Commission, the revised report specified, was to have six "non-partisan" members, the chairman to be appointed by the President.

President Hoover's attitude on the bill, and the conditions under which he would sign or veto, had been predicted in the Senate for so long and with such confidence that it was somewhat of a shock when on June 4 he announced that he had not yet made up his mind about the bill. He indicated that when the measure finally came to him he would study it with care, consulting Cabinet officers, and that until then he would keep an open mind.

President Hoover used his veto power for the second time on May 28 when he returned the Spanish War veterans' pension bill to Congress with the criticism that it was "opposed to national policy." The veto message set forth three objections to the bill:

1. Because it did not exclude persons whose disabilities arose from "vicious habits," and thus "opened the door for claims of disability incurred at any time in the life of the pensioner arising from venereal diseases, alcoholism, drug habits, &c."

2. Because it lowered the minimum service period from ninety to seventy days and provided that the disability need not have been incurred during that time.

3. Because it did not require that need as well as disability be considered as a basis for pensions.

"It is to me the height of injustice," said Mr. Hoover, "that citizens who are less well placed should be called upon to support from taxes those whose station in life enables them to support themselves or to live in independent security."

When the bill came up for reconsideration in Congress on June 2 scores of veterans' associations brought influence to bear to secure its passage. After a short debate the Senate passed it by an overwhelming majority, and the House did likewise without debate. The bill immediately became law.

The gigantic resources of Muscle Shoals will lie idle for at least another year owing to the failure of the Senate and the House to agree on a plan for exploiting them. The Senate passed the Norris resolution on April 4, providing for government operation of the power plant. The House Military Affairs Committee (the production of fertilizer is supposedly to the interest of the War Department) scrapped this plan entirely and, on May 28, substituted the Reece bill for the production of power and fertilizer by private interests, the leases to be negotiated by a board of three, appointed by the President. When the conferees met on June 7 they found little common ground for compromise. The House members rejected Senator Norris's proposal that the nitrate properties be leased to private enterprise, while the government retain the production of power. Senator Norris took their refusal as a "demonstration that in this Muscle Shoals woodpile is carefully concealed the private power trust."

PROHIBITION

The Supreme Court ruled unanimously on May 26 that the buyer of liquor is not guilty of a crime under the

Eighteenth Amendment. In the case of the government against James E. Farrar of Massachusetts, the District Court of Massachusetts had quashed the charge that Farrar had "knowingly and unlawfully" purchased liquor. The government appealed and the Supreme Court upheld the decision of the District Court. In rendering the unanimous opinion Justice Sutherland contended that Congress, in passing the Volstead act had "deliberately and designedly omitted to impose upon the purchaser of liquor for beverage purposes any criminal liability." Although it will probably go down in history as a major Supreme Court decision, this ruling did not create much of a stir. It was received with evident relief by both Wets and Drys, for even the most ardent prohibitionists realized how greatly the problem of enforcement would be complicated by a decision which would increase the number of law-breakers many times over.

The first of the enforcement measures recommended by the Wickersham Commission to become law was the Williamson bill, transferring the enforcement bureau from the treasury to the Department of Justice. President Hoover signed it on May 27. Detection and prosecution of violations are thus centralized in the Justice Department, while the treasury retains the right to grant permits for the manufacture of alcohol. The change involves shifting 2,500 employes, but no radical innovations in enforcement policy, officials said.

The House passed two other bills sponsored by the Enforcement Commission on June 3 and 4. The first of these modified the Jones law by defining "petty offenses" as manufacture, sale or transportation of less than one gallon of liquor by a not habitual offender. Such cases call for a maximum penalty of \$500 fine and six months in jail, and thus do not come under the Jones law. This definition opened the way for the passage of the Christopherson bill relegating trial of petty offenders to United States Commissioners, in order to relieve congestion in the courts. It was considered certain that this bill

would die in the Senate, where it had already been attacked as unconstitutional. With the end of the regular session at hand, the net result of the enforcement program appeared to be one bill, transferring enforcement to the Department of Justice.

Prohibition played a dominant part in a number of Congressional primaries during the past month. In New Jersey, the result of the three-cornered battle on June 17 was largely contingent on that issue. Ambassador Morrow's eagerly awaited views were revealed on May 16, when in the opening speech of his campaign he advocated repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment and in its place State control of the liquor traffic. Coming from a close associate of President Hoover, this stand created something of a sensation. Furthermore, it induced Representative Franklin Fort to enter the contest as the only prohibitionist, the other candidate, former Senator Frelinghuysen, being a recent convert to the Wet side. The New Jersey Democratic convention went on record against prohibition on June 4.

In Pennsylvania Secretary of Labor James J. Davis and former Governor Gifford Pinchot defeated Senator Grundy and Francis Shunk Brown for the Republican nominations for Senator and Governor on May 20. The results cut across party organizations so as to make any simple interpretation impossible. Secretary Davis, backed by the powerful Vare organization, won

by a large majority, while Mr. Brown, the other Vare candidate, was decisively defeated by Mr. Pinchot, an independent. Senator Grundy's defeat could not be considered as a defeat for his tariff policies, since Secretary Davis is also a protectionist, but he is considered a stronger devotee of Hoover policies than is Senator Grundy. In that light his victory was interpreted as a victory for the administration.

Furnifold M. Simmons, the Senate's oldest member in point of service, was defeated for renomination in the North Carolina Democratic primaries on June 7. With his defeat, North Carolina Democrats returned to the fold and repudiated their leader of many years. Senator Simmons himself repudiated the national Democratic ticket in 1928, with the result that North Carolina's electoral votes went to Hoover, and that irregularity was held responsible for the overwhelming victory of the younger and more regular Josiah W. Bailey, who has nevertheless long been one of Senator Simmons's chief lieutenants.

The nomination of Owen J. Roberts as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court was unanimously ratified by the Senate on May 20. With Mr. Roberts's induction into office on June 2, the Supreme Court once more had its full membership, which was depleted by the deaths of Chief Justice Taft and Justice Sanford on March 8. D. E. W.

MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

By CHARLES W. HACKETT

PROFESSOR OF LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE CHIEF AIM of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, it will be remembered, was to effect agrarian reforms that were regarded as necessary because over 96 per cent of the 2,250,000 heads of rural families were landless. Little was accomplished in the way of agrarian reforms until the administration of Obregón (1920-1924), who initiated the practise of

expropriating from large estates the lands needed by villages for agriculture. Before 1928 a total of approximately 3,000 communities had been granted lands in excess of 15,000,000 acres, or the equivalent of approximately one-half the crop acreage of the republic at that time. Of this total, 1,775,000 acres had been taken from foreigners, including 465,000 acres that



MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

had been taken from estates owned in whole or part by Americans. By the agreement reached in 1923 between Mexico and the United States, Americans whose lands were expropriated for agrarian purposes were obliged to accept 5 per cent twenty-year bonds, the face and par value of which did not coincide, as payment for an approximate maximum of 4,334 acres, but a just and cash value was to be paid for all lands taken in excess of that amount. Up to Jan. 1, 1928, a total of \$4,200,000 of agrarian bonds had been issued for expropriated lands.

President Ortiz Rubio has now enlarged his agrarian program by issuing two notable decrees in fulfillment of campaign promises. The first, issued on April 27, empowers the executive to issue bonds on the public agrarian debt to the extent of approximately \$25,000,000, in series as necessity arises, bearing 5 per cent interest and redeemable in twenty years. The executive may, in accordance with the government's financial condition, redeem part or all of the agrarian debt.

The second decree, made public on May 8, authorizes every Mexican, who is more than 18 years of age and has a capital of \$2,500, to lease from the national domain any cultivable land except forest reserves and certain grazing lands near Mexico City. The lessees must agree not to cultivate plants producing alcoholic drinks or other toxic substances and they must take lands on five-year contracts. If payments are kept up during the period of the lease, title to the property will be acquired by the lessees. The latter must agree during the term to work the land in person or by their families. The leasing of the national domain as thus provided for will not involve rights of foreigners who heretofore have vigorously protested when, in the interest of agrarian reformers, their lands have been taken from them by the Mexican Government at prices held not to constitute just values at the time.

The degree with which the Mexican petroleum law, which was the subject of a spirited diplomatic controversy

with the United States between 1925 and 1928, has been accepted by petroleum companies was revealed by a statement issued by the Mexican Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor on May 17. The law, as finally amended in 1927 and accepted by the United States in 1928, recognized only titles to petroleum lands that were acquired before the Constitution went into effect on May 1, 1917, and on which some positive act had been performed before that date that was indicative of the owner's intention to exploit the deposits. Furthermore, where such positive acts could be proved, the owner was required to surrender his valid title to such lands to the Mexican Government in exchange for a "confirmatory concession," which was to be good without limitation of time for the exploitation of the subsoil deposits.

Since the law became operative early in 1928, a total of 3,484 petitions for confirmatory concessions and for new concessions have been filed with the Department of Industry, Commerce and Labor, according to the statement of May 17. Involved in these petitions are approximately 180,000,000 acres of land. Delay in final action upon the petitions is explained by the enormous volume of clerical and survey work, much of which is connected with validating titles by proving that positive acts had been performed on the lands in question before May 1, 1917. By mid-May the department had analyzed the petitions for one-third of the area for which confirmatory concessions had been asked by companies whose titles were acquired before 1917. Not more than one-tenth of the applications for new concessions had been acted upon. Up to the same date confirmatory concessions had been granted for about 18,500,000 acres and new concessions for 3,500,000 acres. Minister of Industry, Commerce and Labor León stated that 250 concessions had been applied for by the larger petroleum companies.

In consequence of the vote in the United States Senate on May 13 to restrict Mexican immigration to this country to about 1,500 annually, the

executive committee of the American Chamber of Commerce in Mexico City on May 25 sent a message to President Hoover urging "that the proposed legislation restricting immigration from Mexico would not do actual good and would be most unwise at this time."

Jacob Friedman, former Soviet commercial attaché and custodian of the Soviet archives in Mexico City after the severance of diplomatic relations between Mexico and the Soviet Union several months ago, left Vera Cruz on May 19, as a result of a Presidential decree calling for his expulsion as an objectionable alien. Friedman was generally looked upon as the last of the "Red" representatives in Mexico and his expulsion marked the complete severance of relations between the Mexican and the Soviet Governments.

The census taken in Mexico on May 15 shows that Mexico City has a population of 968,443, including 535,085 females and 433,358 males. The figures show an increase of 200,000, as compared with the census returns of 1921.

NICARAGUA—Bonded indebtedness was reduced 15 per cent, or nearly \$700,000, during 1929. This is the greatest reduction in the history of Nicaragua and resulted from receipts of \$4,000,000 in customs duties during the year. Foreign trade in 1929 totaled \$22,000,000, of which \$13,000,000 was with the United States. A program of public works in Nicaragua includes a postoffice to cost \$200,000, a \$50,000 custom house and a new Presidential palace that is nearing completion.

Captain Alfred Wilkinson Johnson of the United States Navy has, at the request of the Nicaraguan Government, been appointed president of the Nicaraguan National Council of Elections, and will supervise the Congressional elections in October.

Six clashes in the outlying northern provinces occurred in Nicaragua between bandits and the Nicaraguan National Guard in the ten-day period between May 5 and 14. The National Guard lost 4 killed and 3 wounded; and 125 bandits have been reported to

have been killed. Because of these clashes martial law for a period of sixty days, beginning May 14, was declared for five northern provinces by the Nicaraguan Government.

COSTA RICA—The economic crisis was discussed in some detail by President González Víquez in his message to Congress on May 6. Attention was directed to the fact that an unfavorable balance of \$818,750 occurred in Costa Rica's foreign trade in 1929, which totaled \$38,375,000. This is in contrast to 1928, when a favorable balance of \$1,750,000 occurred. Last year banana exports totaled 6,112,170 bunches, or a decrease of 1,211,311, as compared with 1928. The value of coffee exports in 1929 was \$12,225,000, or \$150,000 less than in 1928. Cocoa exports, valued at \$895,269, were \$129,275 less than in 1928. General receipts of the treasury in 1929, which were \$8,848,997, were the highest in the history of the country; on the other hand government expenditures, which were \$9,055,016, also were the highest in the country's history and created a deficit of nearly \$250,000. The United States, Great Britain and Germany took 85 per cent of Costa Rica's exports in 1929. Exports to the United States amounted to \$14,731,598, as compared with \$12,845,379 to Great Britain and \$5,511,232 to Germany. The government's expenditures in 1929 were distributed as follows: Department of Public Works, 36.93 per cent; service on the public debt, 13.96 per cent; public instruction, 13.32 per cent; national treasure, 12.05 per cent; public security, 7.36 per cent; legislative, judicial and other activities of the government, 16.38 per cent.

CUBA—On the basis of an exhaustive report submitted by United States Ambassador Guggenheim on April 21, the United States Department of State on May 8 declined to take any action in the case of Joseph E. Barlow, an American citizen, who for several years has been claiming damages approximating \$9,000,000 for the alleged

illegal seizure of lands in the heart of Havana. The position taken by the Department of State was that Mr. Barlow had not exhausted his legal remedies in Cuba and that he should have accepted an offer of arbitration which was prepared by the American Embassy. Ambassador Guggenheim is reported to have said that the property in dispute was worth between \$425,000 and \$1,275,000, instead of \$9,000,000, as claimed by Mr. Barlow. The action of the Department of State in not upholding the claims was characterized as just by a majority of American business men in Havana, a symposium of whose opinions was published in the *Havana Post* on May 9. Official announcement was made in Washington on May 9 that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which has investigated the Barlow claims, was satisfied with the report of Ambassador Guggenheim on which the Department of State acted.

The death of six persons and the wounding of twenty-one resulted from a clash between military forces and members of the Nationalist party at Artemisa on May 18. The military are reported to have been instructed to prevent the political meeting of the Nationalist party at all costs.

As a result of a general reorganization of all government employes more than 2,000 were discharged from the Department of Public Works on May 5. This is the largest number of State employes ever dismissed at one time. Because the electoral code forbids the replacement of government employes in the seven-month period preceding general elections, none of the places vacated can be filled before Nov. 1 when Congressional elections will be held.

As a means of offsetting the overproduction of sugar in Cuba, resulting in an economic depression, attention is being turned to the production of coffee. It is officially reported by the National Statistical Bureau that a number of the most fertile and largest plantations in Oriente Province covering an area of 39,920 acres, will be

devoted entirely to the cultivation of coffee next year.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC—In Presidential elections held on May 16 General Rafael Leonides Trujillo and General Rafael Estrella Urena, candidates of the Government party, were elected President and Vice President respectively. After the leave of absence forced upon President Horacio Vásquez in February, General Urena served as Acting President until shortly before the election when he temporarily vacated that office because he did not wish to hold power during the campaign. Four days before the elections Federico Velásquez and Angel Morales, candidates of the coalition of the National Progressive parties, formally withdrew their candidacies on the ground that it was "impossible for the National conscience to express true convictions and sentiments." Despite these withdrawals, it was reported that the vote was one of the heaviest cast in Dominican electoral history. Unofficial estimates placed the number of votes at between 175,000 and 200,000 of which 10,000 were cast for Velásquez and Morales. Two days after the election, Velásquez was arrested on a charge of having fomented a revolution. Morales and an associate took refuge in the American Legation. As a possible influence in quieting the opposition, President-elect Trujillo on May

20 offered the treasury portfolio in his Cabinet to General Velásquez. The following day Velásquez was freed by an order of the Court of Appeals without having announced whether he would accept the offered position.

President-elect Trujillo and Vice President-elect Urena personify the "youth movement" in Dominican politics. The former is 37 and the latter 38 years old. Both held Cabinet positions under President Vásquez, but it was Urena, who headed the movement early in the year that resulted in Vásquez's enforced leave of absence.

HAITI—Eugene Roy was inaugurated Provisional President on May 15, succeeding President Borno who has been in power for eight years. Roy had the almost unanimous support of the various political groups in Haiti and, in addition, was the choice for Provisional President of the Hoover Investigating Commission. The new Executive was most enthusiastically received by the populace, while the retiring President was greeted with an unfriendly demonstration. Roy's Cabinet, appointed to serve until the Constitutional order is restored as the result of general elections, was announced as follows: Frederic Bernadin, Foreign Relations; Rudolph Barran, Interior and Justice; Ernest Dauyon, Public Works; Damocles Vieux, Public Instruction, and Franck Roy, Finance.

SOUTH AMERICA

By HENRY GRATTAN DOYLE

PROFESSOR OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES AND DEAN OF THE LOWER DIVISION, GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE STRIKING EVENTS that have taken place in Bolivia during the last month constitute a governmental episode that is not only of significance for the immediate future of Bolivia, but illustrative of what may happen in any of the Latin-American countries where government is strongly personal and party government in the British or American sense

practically non-existent. One must be careful not to confuse the party system in many of the Latin-American countries with that existing here, just as one must not seek to liken the parliamentary system of France to that of England. With a strong "personalist" President, political parties in some countries of South America are likely to take one of two courses of develop-



SOUTH AMERICA

ment. The first is that the President's personal following grows to enormous proportions, while the opposition steadily dwindles, aided in some cases by intimations too strong to be ignored that foreign travel would be beneficial to opposition leaders, and by even more direct methods. The second course is the tendency of the number of parties to increase and their numbers to lessen, so that they form little more than political groups. In some cases, it is true, the rise to power of a strong-minded President is due to the previous existence of a relatively weak and ineffective multiplicity of parties.

Another political aspect of countries where such governments prevail is to be found in the elections. It is as unusual for the dominant group in such countries to lose an election as it is for the dominant group in a well-organized American city ward. Here, indeed, the parallel with a feature of our system is almost perfect; for it is usually only when great popular interest is aroused in an issue, or when the majority lead-

ers have fallen out, that striking changes in control may be effected by ballot. An instance of this, and a heartening evidence of progressive views as to governmental responsibility, is the recent election in Colombia. With a division in the party which had held power for some forty years, and with pressing economic problems to solve, the country gave Dr. Olaya Herrera a tremendous endorsement, although he belonged to the "outs," while the defeated party pledged him its support for the nation's good.

Such an instance is not as common as it should be. Indeed, it is relatively rare for the governing group to be replaced by the opposition, at any rate, through the electoral process. Presidents frequently succeed themselves or designate their successors. Even the "no re-election" provision which exists in some Latin-American constitutions may be met, as President Diaz of Mexico met it in 1880, by electing a friend or associate as successor, with the assurance of succeeding him in turn, or as Diaz did in 1884, by amending the Constitution. Another method, since election after an interval is apparently not technically a re-election, is for the President to resign a short time before the end of his term. The Vice President or other constitutional successor then becomes President, and the former President is enabled to make his campaign, usually successfully, as a private citizen.

Some of these elements are doubtless present in the situation in Bolivia, which may be described somewhat as follows:

President Hernando Siles of Bolivia, who had been in office since 1926, on May 28 resigned as President, turning the government over to his Cabinet, which had been in office only since May 17. The resignation, it was explained, was due to "grave reasons of state." The Cabinet thereupon called elections to be held on June 29 to choose members of a constitutional convention which was to meet on July 28. The President's declared intention "to remain apart from the settlement

of a political problem confronting Congress" was apparently not convincing to his opponents, who saw as one of the problems confronting the new Assembly a proposed change in the Constitution that would permit another election of President Siles. The Vice President elected at the same time as President Siles, Abdon Saavedra, who was deported some two years ago by the President, promptly issued a statement in Buenos Aires, where he has been living. He declared that the assumption of power by the Cabinet was a coup d'état in violation of the Constitution, which provides for the succession in turn of the Vice President, the President of the Senate, and the President of the Chamber of Deputies. Señor Saavedra also announced that he would return to La Paz to assume the Presidential office, and demanded that in the meantime the Cabinet turn over the administration of affairs to the President of the Senate.

What followed would be amusing were the questions raised not so serious. In reply to Saavedra's telegraphed demand, General Hans Kundt, the German officer who trained the Bolivian army and who has been in command since the Chaco war scare, under instructions from the Cabinet, wired to Saavedra that the latter was "not of sufficient importance to occupy the Cabinet's time or attention." Saavedra then telegraphed General Kundt demanding that he place himself under orders from the former and likewise demanding an escort and a guarantee of safety. Kundt then replied: "Please send orders through the legal channels of the Ministry of War." The Minister of the Interior, Dr. German Antelo Arauz, was reported as declaring that Saavedra was "not in his right mind," and accusing the latter and his brother, Bautista Saavedra, who preceded Dr. Siles in the Presidency, of "abuses, outrages, speculations, smuggling of opium, and all kinds of iniquities" during the administration of ex-President Saavedra. The same tone was taken by the semi-official daily *El Norte*, which suggested that Abdon Saavedra be sent

to a madhouse, and termed his claim "comical."

Censorship has apparently been imposed—so that reliable information is not available from other than official sources, which report the country as calm. The army is alleged to be sympathetic toward Saavedra and loyal to the interim government. There is the possibility that a serious constitutional question may be raised, as was the case with Nicaragua and—more remotely—with Mexico, when controversies over the constitutional succession to the Presidency prevented diplomatic recognition. The international policy of the United States is possibly a little different when South American countries are concerned, and Bolivia is not a Caribbean country. President Siles, moreover, has already been recognized, and if he should succeed himself as the result of a constitutional change the United States would be very likely to regard it as a purely domestic affair.

Certainly, stable government in Bolivia is to be desired. With large payments due in the near future on the foreign debt of some \$60,000,000 and with the country in poor condition economically because of the decline in the price of tin, one cannot help believing that foreign governments are more likely to look into the ability of a government to meet its obligations and maintain order than into the technical constitutional details as to how it established or even perpetuated itself.

Reference has been made to the type of government prevailing in a number of South American countries. The Presidential strong hand, if not actual dictatorship, seems to be accepted as the normal thing in some of these countries. It is not surprising in the circumstances that revolts and rumors of revolts occasionally come to notice. The Gómez régime, which lasted more than a score of years in Venezuela, is a case in point, marked as it was by armed uprisings, student agitation, and a filibustering expedition from Curaçao that resembled a chapter from a "soldier of fortune" romance. Assassinations and attempted assassinations are

a related phase of the prevailing condition of affairs. It is only a month or two ago that several plots against the life of President Leguía of Peru were frustrated; only six months ago that an attempt to assassinate President Irigoyen of Argentina took place; only nine months ago that a similar attempt to murder President Ibáñez of Chile occurred; only four months ago that the Vice President of Brazil was seriously wounded. Deaths in recent election disorders in Brazil and Argentina and the political revolt, now apparently in hand, in the State of Parahyba, Brazil, add to a rather gloomy picture. In one or two countries Presidents are governing without a national legislature; in another, Paraguay, a "state of siege" prevails.

If genuine democratic and constitutional procedure seems by contrast rather slow in establishing itself in South America, the recollection of a few underemphasized facts may help to dispel somewhat the clouds of pessimism. In the first place, the Spanish and Portuguese colonies had no tradition and little or no experience in local self-government before their attainment of independence; and in the second place, their independence came some fifty years later than that of the United States. June 4 marked the centenary of the death by assassination

of Antonio José de Sucre, lieutenant of Bolívar, victor at Pichincha and Ayacucho and first President of Bolivia; Dec. 17, 1930, will be the centenary of the death of the "Liberator," Simón Bolívar. Most of the countries of South America are only a little over a hundred years old. What they have accomplished in the peaceful adjustment of international questions is a hopeful indication of a political capacity which in time is likely to meet and solve the problems of national government in a manner that shall insure constitutionality and democratic stability. The noteworthy advances in the way of legislation dealing with social insurance, labor laws, modern penal codes and the protection of women made in a number of the South American States are evidence of political progress.

Official visits made by two Presidents-elect, Dr. Enrique Olaya Herrera of Colombia and Dr. Julio Prestes of Brazil, to Washington during the month of June are in the tradition of the "good-will tour" of President Hoover before his inauguration. As representative of enlightened and progressive Latin-American statesmanship, their visits are doubtless a happy augury for the continuation of the friendship between their countries and the United States.

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

By RALSTON HAYDEN

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE FIRST VOLUME of the report of the Simon Commission, made public in London on June 9, immediately gave a new turn to the whole question of India. Though the document indicated that the Commission was sympathetic to Indian aspirations, it was equally clear that the extreme demands of the Nationalists would not be satisfied. During the month preceding the publication of the

first volume of the report (a summary of which will be found below) nationwide turmoil, violent anti-British demonstrations, bloody communal riots, active warfare on the Northwest Frontier, and acute depression in trade marked the progress of the Nationalist agitation. Within the thirty days which followed Mahatma Gandhi's arrest, however, neither the Government of India nor the forces of the National Congress

had attained any decisive victory, or even made substantial progress toward terminating the unique contest in which the extreme Nationalist leaders are seeking to destroy British authority within the Indian Peninsula. During this period of revolt events seem to have demonstrated that the Congress has enlisted the almost fanatical support of a substantial element of the Hindu population, but that it has completely failed to bring about any general uprising against Great Britain, even within British India. On the other hand, although the physical control of Great Britain over India has at no point been successfully challenged, the ability of the British Raj to preserve peace and order and govern the country normally in the face of Nationalist opposition has not yet been established. Meanwhile, in London the British Parliament has unswervingly supported the Labor Government in its Indian policy, and the Round Table Conference, which is Great Britain's appeal for a rational solution of the political problems involved, has been called for Oct. 20.

The events that followed Gandhi's arrest on May 5 did not differ in kind from those which preceded this crisis. On May 13 Sholapur, the mill town in which more than fifty persons were killed and some 400 wounded on May 8, was put under martial law and given over to the control of the military authorities. Fierce riots in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi and many other places were checked by police and troops. The repeated efforts of Nationalists, sometimes in mobs 30,000 strong, to raid important salt deposits were in the main thwarted, sometimes with police clubs and buckshot, occasionally with soldiers' bullets. Abbas Tyabji and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, upon whose shoulders the mantle of the Mahatma's leadership successively fell, were arrested and imprisoned for definite violations of law, along with many other Nationalist chiefs and thousands of their followers. V. J. Patel, formerly the President of the Legislative Assembly, suc-

ceeded to the supreme position among the rebels and urged the continuance and intensification of mass disobedience. On the whole, the Nationalist lines held, but they did not advance.

From May 26 to May 30 major disorders occurred in four great Indian cities. In two, Lucknow and Bombay, the civil authorities were savagely attacked by agents of the Congress and rioting ensued which went far beyond the bounds of "peaceful resistance." In both places the police, finally assisted by troops, restored order after much bloodshed. In the other two, Rangoon and Dacca, the ancient enmity between hostile groups of natives broke through British restraints and resulted in characteristic communal warfare. Peace was restored, with considerable loss of life, by British and Indian troops. Politically, the most significant incident of this period was the active participation of Moslems in Bombay in anti-British demonstrations.

On the turbulent northwest frontier, Peshawar continued to be the focal point of Nationalist propaganda, tribal attacks and British defense. Extensive operations conducted by the Royal Air Force held the tribesmen in check, but failed to restore peace.

On the political side, the most important event preceding the publication of the first Simon report was the statement of the British position and plans issued on May 12 by Lord Irwin, the Viceroy. After reviewing developments before that date, Lord Irwin declared that the policy of the government had not been altered by them:

It is a matter for great regret that any body of Indian opinion should have rejected the offer of his Majesty's Government. As I have said upon previous occasions, those who have so acted have spurned an opportunity unprecedented in India's history, and have rejected a unique chance of playing a constructive part in the evolution of India's future. In order to defeat the proposal of his Majesty's Government, they have sought to proceed, not by constitutional means, as might have been expected to appeal to reasonable men, but have deliberately embarked upon a course of civil disobedience fraught with damages to which

it is impossible to suppose its authors can any longer be blind.

Driven as I and my government have been, by the force of circumstances and by the action of others to take these steps [for the preservation of peace and order], I desire to make it plain that our purpose remains unchanged, and that neither my government nor his Majesty's Government will be deflected by these unhappy events from our firm determination to abide by the policy I was privileged to announce on behalf of his Majesty's Government on Nov. 1 last. Steps are being actively taken to arrange for the assembling in London of representatives at the conference there contemplated on or about Oct. 20 next. Though this date is later than in some respects I could have wished, it will offer the advantage to the delegates from India of establishing personal relations with Dominion representatives, who will then be present in London in connection with the Imperial Conference, which has already been arranged to meet at the end of September. The actual opening of the Indian Conference would follow immediately the conclusion of the Imperial Conference.

This proclamation was followed by an "all-parties conference" in Bombay, called to seek a peaceful solution of the situation. This meeting, however, did not attract the leaders in control of the native groups, and nothing important came of it.

On May 26 an extended debate took place in the House of Commons. The discussion was notable for an important statement by W. Wedgwood Benn, Indian Secretary, in the course of which he said:

"Let me recapitulate the aims of British policy in relation to India. First there was the Montagu Declaration. Then there was the Viceroy's statement on Nov. 1 last in which he declared that in the opinion of his Majesty's Government 'it is implicit in the declaration that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion status.' This House, under its own act of 1919, laid upon the Statutory Commission the duty of exploring and reporting. Its functions were well described by the chairman when he said: 'The present commission is only authorized to report and make recommendations. It is not an executive or legislative body authorized to pronounce decisions about the future government of India.' That task is now concluded and within a few weeks we shall have in our

hands one of the great State documents of our time. The next stage is a conference to consider the question of constitutional advance in cooperation with those who can speak authoritatively for opinion in British India and the Indian States. As the Viceroy said: 'It is as unprofitable to deny the right of Parliament to form its free and deliberate judgments on the problem as it would be short-sighted of Parliament to underrate the importance of trying to reach a solution which might carry the willing assent of political India.' That policy stands. The goal is accepted by all parties in this House, but there are great difficulties on the way to it. Does any one deny that there are great difficulties on the way to the goal?

"These difficulties do not exist exclusively or mainly on this side. They are largely Indian difficulties, and it is from Indian opinion that we must seek the solution of the difficulties. I will make bold to say that if in this conference substantial agreement were reached no government would be likely to ignore its work when it came to present its proposals to Parliament. To launch at this moment a campaign of civil disorder, which often involves suffering for innocent non-participants, is merely to add to the difficulties, which were inherently sufficiently stubborn and insurmountable. Among the obstacles to which I referred none is more insistent and none more difficult than that affecting the future position of minorities. It is evident that no settlement can be considered satisfactory which does not carry the consent of, and give a sense of security to, the important minority communities who will have to live under the new Constitution.

"How is that problem to be solved? There are some who rely on the archaic maxim 'Divide and rule.' That is not the principle upon which our Commonwealth has been built up. Our Commonwealth has been built up by teaching persons of various interests and various races that in the bond of union exists the liberty to develop in their own way their own capacity. It is of no interest to us that these difficulties should persist; our interest is to see them solved, and they must be solved among Indians themselves. Attempts are being made to arrive at a solution, and, as I say, it is in the highest imperial interest that a solution should be found, but it is really useless to employ mere words as if they could find a solution. A solution, a real solution, we do most earnestly desire.

"There are other difficulties. I refer to one school of thought which presents this view, that India is a market to be exploited by or on behalf of British interests. I say that were such a belief held by any large body of opinion in this country the

days of the British connection in India would be numbered.

"What is the principle on which our influence has been extended over such a large tract of the globe? It is that by voluntary cooperation the interests of each are served by the union of all. Any policy which sets before an Indian any ideal save the Indian ideal, by which I mean the welfare of all those, of whatever race or color, whose interests are in India, is foredoomed to failure. How long would this empire last if this doctrine which some seek to apply to India were attempted to be applied even to the smallest fragment of the self-governing empire? Who would desire to see an empire built on the principle of the exploitation of one race by another? What moral justification could there be for a structure of this kind? Does this mean that self-governing India will make a lesser contribution to the economic prosperity of these islands? Not at all. That such is not the case is proved by the abounding trade and commerce we enjoy with the self-governing dominions. The essence of profitable trade relations is good-will. All the strong hands and iron heels cannot compel Indian peasants to buy British goods. Good-will and good understanding are the keys to open the gates of the market place.

"We ask ourselves, Can any good come out of the tragic happenings of the last few months? I say that some good may come if they result in the quickening of the consciences of the two peoples. The Indian people are responsive to idealism; behind a Western reserve we are not without our generous instincts. We are not facing a question of the exchange of merchandise or of Parliamentary draftsmanship, but we are facing a question of trust and understanding. Politicians and statisticians have their part to play, but the people themselves have a still greater rôle. Clearly the cruelest and wickedest thing that could be done on either side would be to foster bitterness and hatred and to add fuel to the flames of racial animosities. For long years our two great countries have been knit together to the undoubted

well-being of both. Is it too much to hope that bitterness may be cast out and that the future may see a rebirth of mutual understanding and respect?"

On May 25 Mr. MacDonald, in an "Empire Day Message," made a statement which, although it did not mention India by name, was generally accepted as expressing his convictions as to the fundamental elements of British Indian policy. The Prime Minister declared:

We have not only planted colonies and founded nations, but we have undertaken the care of people who could not take care of themselves. They were doomed to civil war or to systems of government which cut them off from the benefits of civilization. We have duties regarding them. We must see, so far as we are able, that weakness on our part or a too ready withdrawal from guardianship we have assumed does not abandon them so they relapse into the conditions from which our intervention rescued them. Too great haste may only undo all the good our controlling hand did. Yet there must be no deflection from the goal of self-government. The British Empire can only survive the fate of its predecessors, which crashed inevitably as the circumstances which created them passed away, if it can adapt itself to the new needs of an ever-changing world.

Thus, despite anxiety, misery and destruction in India, Great Britain was determined to "carry on" in that country until a solution acceptable to the majority of the conflicting interests and parties interested in the sub-continent could be found. The centre of interest, therefore, really has shifted from India itself to the proposals for the future contained in the second section of the Simon report, which was to be published two weeks after the first volume.

THE FIRST SIMON REPORT ON INDIA

THE first volume of the report of the Simon Commission on India here summarized runs to 400 closely printed pages and was issued two weeks before the second part for the deliberate purpose of compelling both the British and Indian peoples to discuss the actual situation and

its inherent difficulties as a preliminary to the consideration of the recommendations for the future government of India to be set forth in the second part.

Although all three political parties in Great Britain are represented on the commission, its report is unanimous.

The members of the commission are:

Sir JOHN SIMON, M. P., Liberal.
 Viscount BURNHAM, Conservative.
 Lord STRATHCONA AND MOUNT ROYAL, Conservative.
 E. C. G. CADOGAN, M. P., Conservative.
 VERNON HARTSHORN, M. P., Labor.
 Colonel G. R. LANE FOX, M. P., Conservative.
 Major C. R. ATTLEE, M. P., Labor.

Generally speaking, the commission finds that ancient social and economic customs are to blame for the worst of the evils from which India is suffering. It reaffirms self-government as the goal of the British policy in India, but does not disguise the vast difficulties in the way. Although it finds weaknesses in the economic and administrative structure, it declares they are subordinate to the weaknesses based on age-long tradition and asserts that the Indian people themselves must bear the burden of remedying the present conditions.

The first part of the report is largely a compilation of vital facts already known concerning such problems as the religious and racial differences of the population, illiteracy and other backward conditions, and the merits and defects revealed by the actual working out of the constitutional reforms granted by Great Britain in the course of the last decade.

The expression "dominion status," which has caused so much misunderstanding in recent discussion of the Indian crisis, is not used in the commission's own official summary of its first report. But there is no significance in that omission in view of the fact that the commission incorporates in its report as the charter of its own existence the preamble to the Government of India act of 1919, which declared that the policy of Parliament was "to provide for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration and for the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government

in British India as an integral part of the empire."

In the intervening eleven years, the report brings out, much has been accomplished in accordance with that policy. "Increasing association of Indians" with administration has been carried so far that now 95 per cent of the personnel in the Indian civil services is composed of Indians. Central and provincial governments and Legislatures have been groping their way toward success in self-government.

The Simon Commission was instructed to take stock after the first ten years of existing reforms and to recommend whether the new constitutional privileges now enjoyed by India should be restricted or extended. The members of the commission are in accord, as the first part of the report makes clear, both as to the ultimate goal of "responsible government" for India as a part of the empire and also as to the "gradualness" of the progressive stages by which that goal must be reached.

After citing the previously mentioned preamble to the act of 1919 and the Montagu-Chelmsford report of the same tenor, the Simon Commission says:

These, then, are the conditions, deliberately avowed and unswervingly maintained, under which Parliament is about to enter upon a re-examination of the vast Indian problem. These conditions have a double aspect, and as there is a tendency for some commentators to confine attention to the one point of view, while critics of a different school concentrate solely upon the other, we feel that it is of the highest importance at the outset to emphasize the fact that the Montagu declaration of 1917 and the preamble of 1919 embody both.

On the one hand "the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of the British Empire" is the fixed object to the attainment of which in cooperation with the Indian people themselves, British policy stands pledged; the obstacles in the way (and we shall not fail to give a full and candid account of them) cannot be treated as defeating that object, or as affording a discharge from its pursuit. They are of so formidable a character that no opinion as to what should now be

done is worth anything at all until they are duly appreciated; but whatever the obstacles, the object stands as the declared goal of British-Indian policy.

On the other hand, it is equally part and parcel of the pronouncements of 1917 and 1919 that progress in the attainment of this avowed object "can only be achieved by successive stages"; that "the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples", and that in the development of this purpose, the decision as to the immediate future must largely depend upon a just estimate of the results and consequences of the steps already taken.

We are well aware that many Indian publicists look askance at the efforts of others to give an account of these matters, however straightforward and sympathetic that account may be. The purely British composition of our own body roused resentment in many quarters in India—resentment which we did everything in our power to allay, first by seeking the cooperation of Indian committees (for whose aid we are deeply grateful) and later by suggesting the calling of a representative conference after this report and the report of the Indian Central Committee have been made and published.

We have learned enough of India to recognize and to respect the acutely sensitive pride of her sons. But we trust that in the pages that follow, inspired as they are by a desire not only to discharge our statutory duty to Parliament but to serve the cause of India's political progress, our Indian fellow-subjects will recognize that candor and friendship are close allies, and will find an earnest of that good-will toward India as a whole which, we are well assured, will govern all the impending discussions.

Our own task is not to decide but to report to the King-Emperor, whose commission we hold, and to the Parliament of which we are members. In the steps that will follow before the decision is reached there will be full opportunity for the contribution of the views of every section of responsible and representative opinion in India.

Provision for the contribution of these views concerning the recommendations has been arranged by the calling of a conference in London for next October, which will be open to both British and Indian delegates and representatives of all responsible groups in both countries.

While the commission refers emphat-

ically to the policy of gradualness, it is equally positive that none of the difficulties of the situation must be considered as insurmountable obstacles to finally reaching the goal. As the official summary of Volume I says:

It would be a profound error to allow geographical dimensions or statistics of population or complexities of religion and caste and language to belittle the significance of what is called the "Indian Nationalist movement." True it is that it directly affects the homes of a very small fraction of the teeming peoples of India. True it may be that its leaders do not reflect the active sentiments of masses of men and women in India, who know next to nothing of politicians and are absorbed in pursuing the traditional course of their daily lives.

But none the less, however limited in numbers as compared with the whole, the public men of India claim to be spokesmen for the whole, and in India the Nationalist movement has the essential characteristic of all such manifestations—it concentrates all the forces which are roused by the appeal to national dignity and national self-consciousness.

The total area of India amounts to about 1,800,000 square miles—that is, more than twenty times the area of Great Britain. Approximately 700,000 square miles—more than one-third of the whole—lie within the boundaries of the Indian States, which are not British territory at all, though they are under the suzerainty of the British Crown. These States are nearly 600 in number and vary in size from Kashmir or Hyderabad, the largest, with an area greater than England and Scotland, to properties of a few acres. The rest, which constitutes British India, is made up of nine "Governor's Provinces" together with certain other areas, of which the most important is the Northwest Frontier Province. Burma, the largest of the Governor's provinces, covers a greater area than the whole of France, and Assam, the smallest, is of the size of England.

At the census in 1921 British India had a population of 247,000,000 and the Indian States had a population of 71,900,000. British India, therefore, has nearly two and one-half times the population of the United States.

To immensity of area and of population must be added the complication of language. No single vernacular tongue has so wide a range as English, but the last census showed that only 2,500,000 persons (sixteen in every thousand males and two in every thousand females) were literate in English. The language with the widest currency among the general population is Hindustani, but it is far

from being generally understood all over India. The census enumerates altogether 222 vernaculars for India, and a man who wished to make himself generally understood in all parts of India would have to be master of as many separate tongues as a linguist who was prepared to accomplish the same achievement throughout Europe.

The commissioners emphasize the predominantly rural character of the Indian population. They quote the statement of the Montagu-Chelmsford report that while a country like England gives 58 persons out of every 100 to industry and only 8 to agriculture, India gives out of every hundred 71 to agriculture or pasturing. The report adds:

Any quickening of general political judgment, any widening of rural horizons beyond the traditional and engrossing interest of weather and water and crops and cattle, with the round of festivals and fairs and family ceremonies, and the dread of famine and flood—any such change from these immemorial preoccupations of the average Indian villager is bound to come very slowly indeed.

As to the religious antagonism between Hindus and Moslems, which is the chief reason for the fear that if India were left absolutely to herself she would tear herself to pieces in fanatical religious warfare, the commission expresses regret that there has been no improvement since the granting of existing government reforms. But this tension is not due entirely to religious difference, according to the commission. It is partly caused by "the anxieties and ambitions aroused in both religious communities by the prospects of India's political future." The report says:

The true cause, as it seems to us, is the struggle for political power and for the opportunities which political power confers. We are fully alive to the arguments against communal representation, but we cannot think that it is the effective cause of this deplorable friction.

At the same time we are no less clearly convinced that separate communal electorates serve to perpetuate political divisions on purely communal lines, and we have every sympathy with those who look forward to the day when a growing sense of common citizenship and a gen-

eral recognition of the rights of minorities will make such arrangements unnecessary.

Concerning the Hindu caste system, which involves the misery of the millions of outcasts and "untouchables," the report is not optimistic. It admits just a shade of improvement in isolated regions, but says that progress is not only slow but will so continue. There is no specific linking up of this phase of Indian life with the political situation in the official summary.

There is, however, in Volume I a full chapter on the subject of women in India. In this connection the summary says:

The commissioners observe that hardly any reference was made to the women of India in the Montagu-Chelmsford report, and that it is a striking proof of the change which has come over the Indian scene in the last twelve years that no document discussing India's constitutional system, and the directions in which it can be developed and improved, could omit the women of India today.

All the legislative bodies except the Council of State have by resolution under the electoral rules extended the franchise to women on the same terms as men, but the qualification is such that the number of women who have become electors is extremely limited. In seven provinces out of nine, women may now also be members of the Legislatures and women from those provinces can become members of the Legislative Assembly.

In several of these provincial councils a woman member has in fact been nominated. In at least one constituency a woman has stood for election, and in municipal elections some women have been returned. Side by side with these developments there has begun a strong movement to urge social reforms which would promote the progress of Indian womanhood.

The excess of males over females in the population of India amounted at the last census to almost 9,000,000. The gap is at its widest in the age groups 10 to 20 and may be not unconnected with social customs and practices such as purdah [seclusion of women] and early marriage and unskillful midwifery, which seriously affect the vitality of so many Indian women. The feeling against purdah is fast gaining ground. It is a system which has pressed least hardly on the very rich who can afford to provide adequate separate space for the ladies of their household; medical re-

ports show how terribly it eats into the vitality of less fortunate women who are shut up with small accommodation.

A still more significant symptom is the gathering force of the movement against child marriage. Something like half the girls of India are married before the completion of their fifteenth year; the last census showed that over 2,000,000 of them were married, and 100,000 were widows, before the age of ten. If the Sarda act (penalizing marriage until the wife is 14 and the husband is 18) just passed by the Indian Legislature is adequately observed and enforced, one of the results will be a great impetus to girls' education. In 1921 less than one woman in fifty in British India could read and write. In no province does one girl out of five attend school; in some provinces not one out of twenty or twenty-five. At present the number of trained Indian women in the professions of teaching and nursing is pathetically few, and the obstacles to increasing their number are great. The amount of unnecessary suffering caused to women by the lack of medical and nursing aid is appalling.

The women's movement in India holds the key of progress and the results it may achieve are incalculably great. It is not too much to say that India cannot reach the position to which it aspires in the world until its women play their due part as educated citizens.

On the question of the independent Indian States, with their ruling princes, which are not a political part of British India but under the suzerainty of the British Crown, the Simon commission quotes with evident approval the conclusions of the Butler committee's recent investigation of the relationship between the Crown and the States. That committee said: "If any government in the nature of a dominion government should be constituted in British India, such a government would clearly be a new government resting on a new and written Constitution."

*** We feel bound, however, to draw attention to the really grave apprehension of the princes on this score, and to record our strong opinion that in view of the historical nature of the relationship between the paramount power and the princes the latter should not be transferred without their own agreement to a relationship with a new government in British India responsible to an Indian Legislature."

Continuing, the summary of Volume I of the Simon report says:

In considering the implications of the policy, to the pursuit of which the British Parliament is solemnly pledged, for the increasing association of Indians in every branch of Indian administration, and for the development of responsible government in British India, no question is at once more difficult and more crucial than the future organization, recruitment and control of the army in India. What, in view of the resolve that British India should advance to the goal of self-government within the empire, is the nature of the arrangements which must be contemplated and in due course reached for her external defense and her internal security?

We feel strongly that it would be a great disservice both to Britain and to India for this question now to be shirked, or for a method of treatment to be adopted which is confined to the search for temporary expedients wrapped up in soothing generalities, which only serve to foment suspicions of the bona fides of British policy on the one hand, and to divert attention from the ultimate and fundamental difficulties which Indian politicians themselves will have to face on the other.

The best service we can render in this regard is to set out, plainly and fearlessly, for the consideration both of the British Parliament and of the political leaders of India, the special features of India's military problem which must be provided for before army administration can be a function of a self-governing India.

As regards external defense, India has to carry a constant burden of anxiety and provide against actual dangers on her northwest frontier which are wholly without parallel in the case of the self-governing dominions. India throughout history has had to endure a series of incursions by foreign invaders, who have forced their way through the defiles in the northwest and at other points where a gap was found in the immense mountain barrier which cuts off India from the rest of Asia.

It is the difficult and necessary rôle of the army in India to guard against a repetition of these dangers. Sixty thousand British troops and 150,000 Indian (as well as 34,000 reservists) are organized into a field army, into covering troops, and into a garrison for internal security, with this task among others constantly in mind.

In peace time the duty of the covering troops, assisted by frontier levies of various kinds, is to prevent the independent tribes on the Indian side of the

Afghan frontier from raiding the peaceful inhabitants of the plains below.

From 1850 to 1922 there have been seventy-two expeditions against these tribes—an average of one a year. The outstanding fact is that the urgency and extent of the problem of military defense in India are without parallel elsewhere in the empire, and constitute a difficulty in developing self-government which never arose in any comparable degree in the case of the self-governing dominions.

Internal security provides a second consideration which also makes the case of India unique. Troops are employed many times a year to prevent internal disorder, and if necessary to quell it. We have been told that this use of the army for the purpose of maintaining or restoring internal order was increasing rather than diminishing, and that on these occasions the practically universal request was for British troops. The proportion of British to Indian troops allotted to this duty has in fact risen in the last quarter of a century. The reason, of course, is that the British soldier is a neutral and is under no suspicion of favoring Hindus against Mohammedans or Mohammedans against Hindus.

One of the four governing principles for constitutional reform in India laid down by the Montagu-Chelmsford report was that the first steps toward the realization of responsible self-government should be taken in the provinces. "Accordingly," says the Simon report, "it is in the domain of the provinces that the most substantial steps prescribed by the announcement of 1917 have been taken."

One of the most interesting parts of the report is that concerning public opinion in India:

Indian political thought finds it tempt-

ing to foreshorten history, and is unwilling to wait for the final stage of a prolonged evolution. It is impatient of the doctrine of gradualness.

With all its variations of expression and intensity, the political sentiment which is most widespread among all educated Indians is the expression of a demand for equality with Europeans and a resentment against any suspicion of differential treatment.

While the experienced Indian member of the services will admit the benefits of the British Raj and realize the difficulties in the way of complete self-government; while the member of a minority community, putting the safety of his community first, will stipulate for safeguards, and while the moderate may look askance at extremist methods which he will not openly denounce, all alike are in sympathy with the demand for equal status with the European and proclaim their belief in self-determination for India.

The first part of the report concludes:

The British people, so long accustomed to self-government, are bound to sympathize with this movement, even though they may deplore some of its manifestations. We are pledged to help India along her way and constructive effort is needed. * * *

In our view the most formidable of the evils from which India is suffering have their roots in social and economic custom of long standing, which can only be remedied by the action of the Indian peoples themselves. They are much less likely to be remedied if the blame for their continuance can be put, however unreasonably, on others. We desire to see the forces of public opinion which exist in India concentrated and strengthened for the practical work of reform. It is only when the difficulties of constructive policy are really faced that the inadequacy of general phrases begins to be realized.

Other Events in the British Empire

WITH the naval conference out of the way, Prime Minister MacDonald turned his primary attention to the reduction of unemployment and the alleviation of the economic depression which continue to be Great Britain's most serious problems. His first task was to make secure his position both within his own party and in the House of Commons. On May 20,

Sir Oswald Mosley, who has been prominently associated with Mr. J. H. Thomas, Lord Privy Seal, in directing Labor policy with reference to unemployment, resigned from the Cabinet in disgust with what he considered the government's half-measures in dealing with the problem. At a party meeting held two days later the Prime Minister defended his course, and was sustained

by a vote of 210 to 29. The 29 votes represented the strength of James Maxton and his Clydeside extremists, with no recruits save Sir Oswald Mosley. On May 28, after a full-dress debate on unemployment in the House of Commons, the Labor Premier was again sustained, this time by a majority of 29. Although the Conservatives and Liberals declined to risk a general election on the unemployment issue, immediate improvement in that situation was not expected, for on May 13 the number of men out of work had soared to 1,712,000, the largest total of the past eight years.

The position of the MacDonald Government was considerably strengthened by two other victories on major issues the following week. On June 2 the Tories launched their most serious attack on the London naval treaty and were defeated by a vote of 282 to 201 on a motion by Stanley Baldwin for reference of the treaty to a special committee for examination. Winston Churchill led the opposition, declaring that the treaty relegates Great Britain to a secondary position (that is, second to the United States). Mr. MacDonald replied that, as the treaty had been attacked by die-hards in every country, it must be good. Mr. Baldwin took a middle ground, urging serious examination of the treaty, but not outright rejection.

The Labor Government's coal bill was sustained by substantial majorities on June 4, when the House of Commons defeated amendments recommended by the House of Lords.

At the end of his first year in office, Prime Minister MacDonald undertook the reorganization of his Cabinet. The most significant change consisted in the fact that the Premier will himself take charge of the unemployment problem. Nominally, however, it was delegated to a committee, of which one member is to be Mr. J. H. Thomas, who was shifted from the position of Lord Privy Seal to the newly created post of Secretary of State for the Dominions. Thus, Lord Passfield, who was

Secretary of State for Dominions and Colonies, remains in charge of colonial affairs. A distinguished addition to the Cabinet was the appointment of Vernon Hartshorn, a member of the Simon Commission, as Lord Privy Seal. Mr. MacDonald made it clear that Mr. Thomas's new rôle is not a demotion, as he will head the extremely important imperial conference in October. Two other changes completed the reorganization on June 5: the appointment of Dr. Christopher Addison, former member of a Lloyd George Cabinet, as Minister of Agriculture to succeed Noel Buxton, and that of Emanuel Shinwell to follow Ben Turner as Secretary of State for Mines. Mr. Shinwell held this position successfully in the first Labor Government.

On May 29 the project for the construction of a tunnel beneath the Strait of Dover, connecting England and France, was vetoed by the Committee of Imperial Defense, which sat under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister. A government white paper, issued on June 6, explained the decision on military grounds.

King George's birthday honors list was announced on June 2. Three new peers were created: Sir Esmé Howard, former Ambassador to the United States; Noel Buxton, recently Minister of Agriculture, and H. S. Furniss, late principal of Ruskin College, Oxford. Sir John Simon, for his work with the Royal Indian Commission, was made a Knight Grand Commander of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India. Miss Amy Johnson was made a Commander of the Order of the British Empire for her recent heroic flight to Australia. Henry Alfred Lytton, a devotee of the Gilbert and Sullivan operas, having played nearly all the principal male parts, received a knighthood. Other honors were bestowed for distinguished services during the disturbances in Palestine. Among the three baronetcies was Frederick Henry Royce, maker of the Rolls-Royce car.

Lord Davidson, former Archbishop of Canterbury and for twenty-five

British sentiments and his Majesty could not permit one of his loyal subjects to be treated in that manner." Father Carta, on the other hand, was supported by the Papal authorities. The result was an acrimonious correspondence between the Vatican and the British authorities and between the Fascist and Maltese press, in the course of which exaggerated and ill-founded statements were made. After the Bishop of Gozo had forbidden Catholics to support the government in impending elections, and the government had retaliated postponing the elections, the affair culminated in an attempt to assassinate Lord Strickland.

On June 4 the British Government issued a Blue Book which divulged the fact that an official complaint had been made accusing the Vatican of action "which constitutes nothing less than a claim to interfere with the domestic

politics of a British colony." In a statement on June 9 Lord Strickland denied categorically "any charges of having followed an anti-Catholic policy."

A recent protocol, drawn up by the British Minister to the Vatican and the Papal Secretary of State, is an attempt to remove the fundamental points of difference and establish relations on a new basis. In the language of the document its object is "to establish the independence of the Church in Malta in all spiritual matters consistent with the position of Malta as a dependency of the British Crown and as a self-governing unit of the empire." To this end it is suggested that there "shall be a concurrence of his Majesty's Government in the nomination of the Bishops of Malta and Gozo and that these Bishops shall be of Maltese nationality and acceptable to the people."

FRANCE AND BELGIUM

By OTHON G. GUERLAC

PROFESSOR OF FRENCH, CORNELL UNIVERSITY;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE PARLIAMENTARY recess which ended on June 3 gave the country five weeks of rest from political squalls and Ministerial crises. It was marked, however, by the usual controversies between parties, several conventions, numerous keynote speeches and one or two sensational incidents in the field of international relations.

President Doumergue's visit to Algeria was an undoubted success. Algiers, Constantine and Oran, the three departmental capitals, were able in turn to receive and acclaim the representative of France whose friendly smile and cordial simplicity won the hearts of this heterogeneous but thoroughly loyal population of 7,000,000 people, six-sevenths of whom are natives, with even the European contingent containing a respectable portion of Spanish and Italians. Two grievances were voiced in the many speeches addressed to President Doumergue; one came

from the colonists, who complained of a tariff that discriminates against their products in the French market; the other came from the natives, who asked that they be given equality of educational opportunity as well as the right to send representatives to the French Parliament to defend their interests.

The topic of internal politics that has filled most of the editorials of the party press is the place of the Radical-Socialists in the Republican majority. Since the convention of Angers in November, 1928, when the Radical-Socialist party forced four of its members, M. Herriot among them, to leave the Poincaré Cabinet, they have been mainly in the opposition, where their votes generally mingle with those of the Socialists, reorganizing partially the old cartel of 1924-1926. Of late, however, the Socialists have gained enough ground in the bye-elections to threaten seriously the dominant position of the Radical party in the country as well as

in Parliament. Since 1928 the number of Radical-Socialists has fallen from 128 members to 114, whereas the Socialists have risen from 100 to 107. In the last two months out of the six seats lost by the Radical-Socialists five went to the Socialists. This situation has somewhat modified the relation between the two groups and created a great deal of bitterness.

In spite of their label, the party of Chautemps and Herriot is not socialistic; for they believe in private property; nor are they "radical" in the somewhat invidious sense that the word bears in the United States. They are merely the left wing and consider themselves especially entrusted with the defense of the interests of the masses and are committed to a policy of disarmament and peace, in so far as the security of the nation permits. They have supported M. Briand with unfailing fidelity. They are also aggressively anti-Clerical. At the present time the party seems divided as to the best procedure to follow. One section, of which M. Caillaux is the outstanding representative, seems in favor of cooperation with the Tardieu policies. In one of his recent speeches in the Senate M. Caillaux attacked the extravagant demands of some groups of unionized office-holders, and gossip has it that he has become reconciled with M. Tardieu. M. Montigny, his lieutenant, and perhaps M. Chautemps would not be adverse to a policy of participation, while M. Daladier, president of the party, is still in favor of a continuation of the alliance with the Socialists. Discreet invitations to re-enter the majority have been addressed to them by an important political group and by the Premier himself.

The political group called the Democratic Alliance is an extra-parliamentary organization whose ideas correspond to those of the central parties in the House. In fact ten members of the Tardieu Cabinet and M. Tardieu himself belong to it. The Democratic Alliance held its annual conventions at the beginning of May at Angers, and there a former deputy, Professor Joseph

Barthélemy of the Paris Law School, and a former Minister, M. Charles Reibel, sounded the keynote of their party, which is opposition to socialism and adherence to "the policy of practical realizations" represented by M. Tardieu. "Marxism is the enemy," said M. Reibel, and M. Barthélemy added that their party remained faithful to the principles of liberalism, parliamentary government and democracy. These principles are, in the main, those also of the Radical party. Unless they are to be absorbed by the Socialists, whose successes at their expense as well as at the expense of the dwindling Communist forces become every day more menacing, the Radicals will have to join the majority, with which they voted in the last session on all the vital issues.

This point was urged again by M. Tardieu in the two speeches delivered during the recess, especially in his important address at Dijon on June 1. Here he made it clear that, while unwilling to grant a party which has only 114 members out of more than 600 a commanding place in his Cabinet, he would be glad to have them cooperate with him on a definite program, such as his "policy of prosperity" calls for. At Dijon he enumerated the definite measures he wants the chamber to vote on during the coming months. At Lyons on May 18, speaking before the veterans whose cooperation he wanted to enlist for a national awakening "against the undermining forces of decadence, disorder, routine and inertia" he sketched in more general terms the aims of France for the "next fifteen years." These include international and external peace, organization of social and international justice, order within the State, development of France's resources to achieve economic independence and the reduction of living costs.

While this list of aims might possibly meet with the approval of some Radicals it is not likely to offer sufficient food for the idealistic appetites of all the parties of the Left which thrive more on theoretical contro-

versies than on issues of merely material interest. Moreover, M. Tardieu's personality has been too much identified in the past with opposition to the Radical conception of government to make him an acceptable leader. The recent shifts of Prefects, the most unstable—in fact the only unstable French public officials—have been resented by Radicals who have seen in some of these measures an attempt to counteract their influence in their constituencies.

His treatment of foreign affairs at Dijon met with wider approval. He was expected to take notice of the fiery addresses delivered a few weeks before by Mussolini at Leghorn, Florence and Milan. These outbursts against France had already been dealt with by the press in a spirit of commendable restraint. The Radical *Quotidien* limited itself to some ironical headlines like "Italy Runs a Temperature." The Nationalist Hervé who admires Mussolini, gave in his *Victoire* some good-natured counsels of moderation under the title "Piano, Pianissimo." M. Tardieu showed himself more diplomatic still. Pretending to ignore the attack, he confined himself to a declaration of confidence in French democratic institutions and French national strength, both physical and moral. "France," he said, "today is in a position which frees her both from the need to fear or to boast." Paying tribute to M. Briand's conduct of foreign relations in six successive Cabinets, he expressed once more the common conviction of all parties that "the organization of international peace is effective only if those peoples who are associated for its preservation are strong enough to bring to the defense of common security the same spirit they formerly brought to the defense of their own." To insure this security he outlined his policy for national defense, which includes an appropriation of \$137,250,000 for organization of the frontier and complete restocking of supplies depleted during the Riff war. In addition, and as if to make sure that all vulnerable spots are protected against possible danger, he sent his Ministers of War and of the Navy on

a tour of inspection along the coasts of Algeria and Tunisia to visit strategic positions while the Minister of the Merchant Marine made a trip to Corsica.

However, this temporary uneasiness caused by the Italian attitude was more than compensated for by a marked improvement in Franco-German relations. M. Tardieu, after having verified on May 17 that Germany had fulfilled all the conditions called for by the Young plan and the plan having definitely begun to operate, gave orders to have the evacuation of the third zone of the Rhineland completed by June 30. The extreme nationalists protested against this abandonment of France's last "security," but public opinion, as a whole, has approved the carrying out of this pledge "with the dignity that is fitting and without haste or delay," as the Premier expressed it.

On the same day, May 17, M. Briand's memorandum and questionnaire addressed to the twenty-six governments of Europe to sound their views on the project of European federation was made public, as described elsewhere in this magazine. This gesture of goodwill has received from the French press the kind of reception always given to M. Briand's projects for the strengthening of peace. The newspapers of the Right consider it a quixotic and impracticable move, while the Left Republicans hail it as a new promise which opens to the world vistas of both peace and prosperity. All realize, however, as M. Herriot stated at Lyons, that it will be necessary to proceed with caution and let the new idea grow slowly and be tested by practice.

Indo-China continues to be the scene of various outbreaks and even in Paris Indo-Chinese students have staged demonstrations in front of the Elysée Palace and at the annual gathering on May 25 at Péré Lachaise in honor of the Commune. These manifestations are intended as protests against the severe penalties inflicted on the authors of the recent insurrection at Yen Bay, thirteen of whom were sentenced to death. All this agitation is attributed

by the officials to Communist propaganda and the Paris Communist organ *Humanité* claims that everywhere the Red flag is waving and the International being sung. This is a new experience in French colonial annals and in marked contrast to the order that reigns in all other possessions.

BELGIUM—The month of July being set aside for the most important ceremonies of the centenary of Belgian independence it is expected that the majority that has so far supported the Jaspar Ministry will remain faithful to it and that all debates of a contentious nature will be postponed till October.

Like the French Parliament the Belgian Chamber has been engaged in voting wholesale tax reductions. The supertax, which is a form of income tax, has been abrogated. The other reductions concern the personal property taxes and the land tax. This latter tax is expected to pass from 11 per cent to 9 and perhaps 7 per cent. All these reductions are to be retroactive as of January, 1930.

The complete "Flamandization" of the University of Ghent has not disposed entirely of the delicate linguistic problem. Nor has the creation of "uni-

lingual regiments" in the army. The question now to be settled is that of the rights of minorities in primary and secondary schools. The principle on which there seems to be agreement is the right of each territory to impose its national language while allowing special classes for the minorities which can show a definite number of children of school age. On the other hand, it is expected that every person belonging to the linguistic minority will know the language of the territory in which he lives in addition to his mother tongue. This subject promises many a passionate debate, not so much in the Senate, where the bill is to be introduced first, as in the Chamber, where "linguistic passions" are more pronounced.

The government refused to sanction the project of the city of Antwerp for a \$12,000,000 loan in the United States for enlargement of the port and the funding of the debt. This action is in accordance with the financial policy of the government tending toward a reduction in the foreign indebtedness.

On May 31 King Albert cut the first sod for the Liège-Antwerp canal which will enable boats to cover the distance between Liège and Antwerp in thirty hours instead of in eight days.

THE TEUTONIC COUNTRIES

By *SIDNEY B. FAY*

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, HARVARD UNIVERSITY AND RADCLIFFE COLLEGE;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

WHILE THE naval conference was sitting at London, political parties in Berlin were agitating about Germany's Lilliputian fleet. The previous Mueller Cabinet refused to sanction an allowance in the 1930 budget for further battleship construction. But the new Bruening Government, upon the demand of the German Nationalists, consented on April 16 to include an appropriation of about \$700,000 for the laying down of the keel of the Ersatz Lothringen, the second of Germany's six 10,000-ton armored cruisers allowed under the

terms of the Treaty of Versailles.

The mysterious Ersatz Preussen, the first of this fleet of post-war armored vessels, is still in a highly unfinished state in the shipyards at Kiel, and will not be ready for launching before 1931. Count Westarp, who heads the group of twenty-eight insurgents in the Nationalist party, without whose aid the Bruening Cabinet cannot secure a majority, demanded the construction of the second battleship for the defense of Germany's east coast. "The present attitude of Poland," he declared later in the Reichstag, "suggests that we keep in

mind such an eventuality as having East Prussia accessible only by a water route, when we could only accord it naval protection." He asserted that, with Europe still bristling with armaments, disarmament was an "empty phrase." Other deputies made a sturdy fight for the new battleship on the ground that the present antiquated ships of the line were "floating coffins," unsuited to the purposes of developing a modern personnel or embarking on long cruises. So the Bruening Cabinet, against its better judgment, included the allowance demanded, but declared it would not make the vote on it a question of confidence in the government; members could vote as they wished, without endangering the Cabinet. The "floating coffins" also were sent on a successful cruise to the Mediterranean to show that they were not so bad after all.

The proposed new battleship would involve an ultimate cost of at least \$20,000,000. In the discussion in the Federal Council this cost, with the initial appropriation of \$700,000 toward it, was contrasted with the \$30,000 which the Federal Council refused to vote, though recommended by the Cabinet, as a subvention to the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra for 1930. The 1930 budget provides for expenditures totaling 11,278,000,000 marks (about \$2,706,720,000), being an increase of about \$90,000,000 over 1929. The Ministry of Defense requires \$170,000,000, an increase of \$12,000,000, as compared with last year.

When this \$700,000 allowance toward a second modern battleship came before the Reichstag's Budget Commission it was defeated after a lengthy debate by a vote of 19 to 13, the Socialists, Communists, Democrats and Centrists voting against it. Speaking for the government, General Groener, the Minister of Defense, declared that while he believed Germany was entitled to renew her antiquated fleet, the Cabinet nevertheless felt that such an undertaking should only be carried out within the limits of the Reich's financial capacity. Inasmuch as the current discussion in-



GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

volved only a question of temporary expediency and did not restrict the Reich's future naval building plans, he was content to let the Reichstag decide the issue without involving the life of the Cabinet. He promised to present a complete navy building plan with next year's budget. The Reichstag thereupon voted to reject for the present the proposed \$700,000 allowance by a decisive majority of 270 to 129.

Unemployment still continues to present an acute situation. It has remained much worse during the Spring months than during the same period last year. It reduces seriously the buying power of the nation, and that in turn reduces consumption and State revenues, and leads in turn to more factories being closed and more unemployment. It also tends to throw the finances of the Reich into new confusion on account of unemployment insurance doles. Dr. Paul Moldenhauer, the Minister of Finance, now finds himself confronted with a total deficit estimated at between \$180,000,000 and \$250,000,000. He proposes to cover this shortage in part by advancing the unemployment insurance premium 1 per cent, which is expected to yield \$75,000,000, but he has yet to find the untapped sources from which the remaining deficit can be met. There is a possibility that the beer tax will again become the subject of a parliamentary battle, as Dr. Moldenhauer continues to view it as one of the few

available sources which can be drawn upon without imposing disastrous hardships on the people.

The friction between Germany and Poland, to which Count Westarp alluded, is perennial, especially over the Polish Corridor and Upper Silesia. Two additional sources of irritation have been added during the past weeks. Polish officials in Upper Silesia, apparently acting without the authorization of their government, are suspected by the Germans of being guilty of spying. An officer named Biedrzynski is said to have offered to pay \$600 for certain military documents. Polish airplanes have flown over German soil. Alarmed by reports of espionage, German officials decided to catch the Poles red-handed. With the consent of his superiors, one of the German border guards informed the Poles that he was willing to deliver the papers at a German passport control station. Biedrzynski arrived there one evening accompanied by another Polish officer. Meanwhile the building had been surrounded by German detectives, who entered the room at the moment the Poles prepared to leave. Not heeding the command to put up their hands, the latter opened fire and the Germans replied, one Polish officer being instantly killed. Then some thirty Poles armed with guns and pistols are said to have rushed across the border into German territory and to have begun firing on the Germans. It is also asserted in support of this that dozens of empty cartridges were found lying on the German side of the frontier next morning. The affair is now being investigated by a mixed German-Polish commission sitting at Marienwerder. The affair has given a good deal of unfortunate fuel to the newspapers on both sides.

The other source of irritation is the new German tariff against which the Poles have handed in a formal protest at Berlin. It comes upon the heels of a German-Polish commercial treaty, which was finally signed on April 19 after five years of bickering, but which is still unratified. The commercial treaty granted to Poland the right to

export 200,000 pigs annually into Germany and gave other facilities for the importation of agricultural products. But the new German tariff raises the customs charge some 300 per cent and is regarded by the Poles as virtually prohibitive, making it impossible for them to compete in the German market with German pigs and other agricultural products. The Poles also protest that the new German tariff is contrary to the general commercial convention signed at Geneva on March 24. The Germans reply that the Geneva agreement is thus far binding neither on Germany nor on Poland, and that ratifications of the document need not be deposited before Nov. 1; furthermore, that even if the Geneva convention was already in force, the Polish Government would have no good ground of complaint because, according to the agreement of March 24, the signatory States retain "freedom of action under unforeseen pressing circumstances," and Germany stated during the Geneva negotiations that measures for the relief of German agriculture must be considered from this point of view. The *Berlin Boersen Courier*, commenting on the German reply, points out that it was Poland herself who, by her declaration that the new States could not bind themselves, caused these limitations in the convention which Germany is now invoking.

Dr. Dietrich, the Minister of Economy, declared on May 9 to the Reichstag's Budget Committee that Germany will abandon her present system of most-favored-nation commercial treaties and tariff policy after Oct. 1, 1935, when the existing trade pact with the United States will officially expire; that the system of export guarantees by which the government agrees to protect exporters will be continued in the Near East, and that the government will seek closer commercial relations with the Succession States.

AUSTRIA—In his recent trip abroad Chancellor Schober assured the League of Nations that Austria would disarm its two private armies of the

Right and of the Left, the Heimwehr and the Schuetzenbund. The Heimwehr was at first inclined to defy his promise. On May 21 they presented him on his return with a memorandum or kind of ultimatum in which they declared that they could not agree to a disarmament bill unless he carried out the three following measures: (1) To disarm the Schuetzenbund with the aid of the Heimwehr; (2) to replace the present Minister of the Interior, Dr. Schumy, by a Heimwehr nominee; (3) and to appoint a new chief of gendarmes and chief of police.

Chancellor Schober, however, stood firm and undaunted. Next day he moved to carry out his promise to the League of Nations by introducing the long-awaited disarmament bill in Parliament. It proved to be rather a small thing for the Heimwehr to be so defiant about. It simply transfers the control of the private possession of arms and ammunition from the provincial governments to the Federal authorities and increases the penalties for violating Austria's present arms laws. The Chancellor said that although he appreciated the value of the Heimwehr in strengthening the patriotic feelings of the country, he had to reject energetically their memorandum, since constitutional questions could be decided only by Parliament.

Former Empress Zita has consented to allow Archduke Rainer Karl, who died in Vienna on May 25, to be buried with his Habsburg forebears in the crypt of the Capuchin monks in Vienna, although he renounced his title when Austria became a republic. He will lie near the remains of the Archduke Rudolf. The fact that it rested with the former Empress Zita to give the decision indicates that the Austrian Government concurs in the view that the crypt, in which the Duke of Reichstadt rests near his mother, Empress Marie Louise of France, and all other Habsburgs for three hundred years past,

with the exception of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife, is still the exclusive property of Austria's former ruling house.

Gilbert Baker Stockton, successor to the late Albert H. Washburn as United States Minister to Austria, in presenting his credentials to President Miklas on May 15, spoke of the bond of sympathy between the peoples of Austria and the United States and of the noteworthy fact that even through the very difficult period of political and economic readjustment Vienna has kept undiminished its prestige as a world centre of art, music and medicine. In reply President Miklas said: "We shall never forget the help which President Hoover afforded by his action in relieving the sufferings of our people."

SWITZERLAND—Various towns and organizations have been holding meetings to protest against the proposed new American tariff. Marc Peters, the Swiss Minister in Washington, in a radio address on May 18 spoke on the same theme. He pointed out that during the last half century his country had become highly industrialized, 47 per cent of its workers being employed in the manufacturing industries and that nearly all raw materials had to be imported. While food products represent only 10 per cent of Swiss exports, the manufactured articles amount to 80 per cent of the total exports. These consist of textiles, embroideries, watches, precision instruments, jewelry and chemical products, a large part of which go to the United States, from which Switzerland draws the larger part of her raw materials, and also automobiles and agricultural machinery. He feared that the new American tariff, with high and almost prohibitive duties, would threaten to impair seriously the trade relations between the two countries, because it is not possible to buy where one cannot sell.

ITALY, SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

By ELOISE ELLERY

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, VASSAR COLLEGE;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE FIERY speeches made by Premier Mussolini during his tour of Tuscany were the outstanding events in Italy during the month of May. This tour was a resumption of Mussolini's earlier practice, abandoned after the attempt on his life at Bologna, of visiting the provincial cities. If his object was to stir up enthusiasm in the Italian towns, he was successful. But the bellicose character of his utterances succeeded also in arousing resentment among Italy's neighbors, especially in France.

The subjects of controversy between France and Italy, as seen by Italy, are (1) Italy's unsatisfied claim for colonial compensation in Africa which goes back to the terms on which she entered the war in 1915; (2) the status of Italians in the French protectorate of Tunis; (3) French support of Yugoslavia against Italy, and (4) Italy's claim to naval parity with France.

Coming at the same time as Italy's announcement of her intention to lay down new war vessels, Mussolini's speeches, it is pointed out, do not argue well for a Franco-Italian naval accord or for the adjustment of colonial rivalries in the Mediterranean. Indeed, in France the speeches are interpreted in some quarters as a direct counter-move to President Doumergue's recent tour of Algeria. The further suggestion that Italy was announcing her intention of entering into an armament race with France, or that her decision was mere bluff, since she could ill afford financially to build ships, was greeted with resentment in the Italian press.

Mussolini began his tour, on May 10, with a visit to Grosseto. Here his speech dealt chiefly with local problems, recalling the work of land reclamation under the present régime, which has had much to do with freeing the region from malaria. "The time is past,"

he said, "when the inhabitants of rural districts are considered as an inferior race, good only to vote at elections and to fill trenches in time of war. Today, instead, my sympathies and the sympathies of the Fascist régime go out to the rural population." Ending in a war-like tone, he declared that the Fascist masses must show that they are "as always anxious only to serve and to march if need be."

The next day he spoke at Leghorn at a celebration in honor of the city's heroic resistance in 1849 to a besieging Austrian army:

I want to say, not only to you, but to the people beyond our frontiers, that we are not anxious to precipitate adventures. But if any one deceives himself so far as to think he can halt our onward march he will find the whole Italian people in front of him. If our frontiers were threatened there would be gathered one human mass—nay, a thunderbolt—launched against any and all comers. There is something inescapable, inevitable in this march toward destiny of Fascist Italy, and nobody can halt it. Before our revolution you not only had hunger for bread but for glory. Livournese, the sea is your fortune.

Such was the impression of belligerency created by this speech that Maurice de Beaumarchais, the French Ambassador, called on Signor Grandi, the Italian Foreign Minister, to make an unofficial protest.

Even more bellicose was Mussolini's speech in the Piazza della Signoria at Florence on May 17:

At home we no longer have any enemies who dare to show their faces. Every now and then some pale shadows crawl out of the cemetery of history. We regard them with a mixture of pity and contempt. As for our enemies abroad, we must distinguish between the leaders and the masses. The first are contemptible individuals who have served our purpose and continue to do so. As for the latter, we are completely convinced that we shall be able some day



Map showing the position of Italy and Spain in the Mediterranean

to reconcile them with the indestructible reality of the Fascist régime.

But there are other enemies. There is first of all the stupidity of all those beyond our frontier who think they can pass judgment on Fascismo. They think we are still a small nation and do not realize we are approaching 43,000,000 inhabitants. They think our movement is reaction, while it is revolution. They think it is tyranny, while it is a whole nation governing itself. They think we are not capable of greater sacrifices than those we bore to defeat the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the last war.

Nothing is more insulting to the pride of the Italian people than the suspicion, recently spread, that our naval program never would be carried into effect. I here affirm that that program will be carried into effect, ton for ton, and that twenty-nine units of the new program will be launched because the will of Fascismo is stronger than iron, for our will is attracted rather than repelled by difficulties. I am sure the Italian people, rather than remain prisoners in a sea which once belonged to Rome, will be capable of even the greatest sacrifices.

There are beyond our frontiers sects, groups and parties of men who would not be averse to unleashing a war against the Italian people, whom they consider guilty of remaining faithful to the Fascist régime. We are ready for them. If by any chance anything of that nature should happen at our frontiers we would all be at our places more speedily than ever before. Fascist Italy is now such a strong mass and so perfectly organized in all its forces that she cannot be attacked without mortal danger.

Later addressing a military review, he spoke even more strongly:

It was I myself who ordered this re-

view, because words are a very fine thing; but muskets, machine guns, ships, airplanes and guns are even better; because right, if unaccompanied by might, is a vain word. Fascist Italy, which is powerfully armed, can now propose its alternative—either our precious friendship or our dangerous hostility.

That there is danger in such utterances is widely recognized, especially so in France against whom they are particularly directed. There is, however, a feeling that Mussolini's public oratory is not to be taken too seriously. Moreover, it is pointed out in government circles that his communications to foreign powers through diplomatic channels are decidedly less belligerent.

Meantime the entire Italian nation is responding to Mussolini's words, and the press is adopting a tone not calculated to ease the friction. The newspapers speak, for instance, of Italy's eagerness to enter into negotiations with France, laying the failure of such efforts to France's unwillingness to concede naval parity with Italy. Seizing upon the fact that Mussolini's speech at Florence was made almost simultaneously with M. Briand's latest proposal for a United States of Europe, they speak of the "crafty pronouncements" of the latter, contrasting them most unfavorably with the direct and forcible utterances of the Italian Premier.

On May 24, in another speech, this time at Milan, he began in a more mod-

erate tone, declaring that his previous utterances were not intended as a challenge to any one. In the same breath, however, he spoke of the bad faith of Italy's neighbors, declaring that the Italian people were ready to defend their destinies, and ended with the statement that though the Versailles treaty had given Italy a mutilated victory "it had not mutilated her in arm or heart."

A few days later the question of Italy's defense was brought before the Chamber of Deputies in the form of the naval budget. This amounts to about \$77,000,000, an increase of \$12,000,000 over last year's budget. About \$9,000,000 of the increase is reported to be due to increased building, the rest to increased pay. In the course of the debate on the budget one speaker said:

The recent London conference warns us that it would be an unpardonable error to place too much faith in the peaceful tendencies of nations, of which we hear so much at every international meeting, but which are in strident contrast with the development of armaments, especially in the Mediterranean and across the Atlantic. We must, therefore, accept as a sacred duty any sacrifice the government may ask of us to obtain a fleet which will represent a grave danger for any one who may choose to be its enemy.

Another speaker said:

If France possesses within easy reach contingents of black troops necessary to swell her white army, Italy, which, praise be to God, has no such multi-colored needs, has beyond the ocean ten millions of brave faithful soldiers. They are ten million emigrants, who must be able to return to their country to defend Italy's ancient rights and her new greatness.

The day is over in which the defense of the country was considered an unproductive expense. We may tighten our belts, but ships we must have.

In connection with the budget of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Minister Grandi, speaking on June 3, defended the Italian demand for naval parity with France and once again blamed French demands for the failure of the negotiations.

The entire budget for the coming year as presented to the Chamber of

Deputies by Finance Minister Senator Mosconi calls for a sum of \$967,450,000, which is an increase of approximately \$38,900,000 over 1929.

The Vatican State has declared a monopoly of salt and tobacco. The object of this decree is to bring the regulations of the Vatican State into accord with those of the Italian Government and thus prevent smuggling. According to the new law the importation and sale of salt and tobacco in the territory of the Vatican State is reserved to the State, which sells them to the public through retailers of its own choice, who must, however, all be citizens of the Vatican State. Sales may be made only to citizens or residents of the Vatican State or to persons who normally work there all the time. The Governor of the Vatican State reserves the right to establish maximum quantities that a purchaser may buy.

SPAIN—The question of monarchy or republic in Spain remains unsettled, though, on the whole, the situation during the past month has been quieter and the existing government more fully in control. Dr. Miguel de Unamuno, whose presence in Madrid appears to have been the indirect cause of student rioting, left for Salamanca on May 7; steps were taken toward the reopening of the universities, and on May 15 a decree was published authorizing the directors of the universities to decide individually on the date of their examinations to be held between May 20 and June 1.

Leaders of several divided Republican parties on May 16 signed an agreement to work together. The arrangement appears to affect all the Republicans and Radical Socialists, though not the entire Socialist party. Not only from this proposed union of republican parties, but also from a recent publication by one of Spain's leading historians, Signor Madariaga, supporters of the monarchy see impending danger. Professor Madariaga, who was formerly in the Secretariat of the League of Nations and holder of the Alfonso XIII

chair at Oxford, has just published a history called *Spain*, in which he produces evidence which purports to show that "Alfonso for years has been working up to the present state of affairs and that his interference is responsible for most of Spain's troubles which made the recent dictatorship necessary." Meanwhile the King's birthday was celebrated with much pomp and ceremony.

Strikes of a purely economic nature are reported from various places in Spain. Among those who have walked out are irrigation, tin and construction workers, bakers, operators on local and suburban cars, and taxi drivers in Madrid.

PORTUGAL—It is reported that the followers of Dom Manuel II of Braganza, the last King of Portugal, and those of Prince Nuno Duarte, the 23-year-old pretender of the other

branch of Braganza, have agreed to bury their differences in order to present a stronger front to the rising tide of republican socialism.

Dr. Oliveira Santos, former Governor of the Portuguese colonies, who was sent to Angola to inquire into the assertion made by Edward Ross, an American missionary, that slavery was practiced in Portuguese Africa, has handed a report to the Geographical Society. The report is said to contain documentary evidence refuting the charges. After translation, it will be forwarded to the League of Nations and to the governments of all English-speaking countries.

The first series of five internal loans of 100,000,000 escudos each closed on June 4 with the issue twice oversubscribed. (See article on page 686 of this issue, dealing with Portugal since the war.) This loan will be used for work for the improvement of ports.

EASTERN EUROPE AND THE BALKANS

By *FREDERIC A. OGG*

PROFESSOR OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

DURING MAY interest was stirred afresh in the tangled competition for succession to the Hungarian Throne, a throne which government circles at Budapest insist will long remain vacant, by the visit of a Legitimist delegation to Prince Otto at the castle of his mother, the former Empress Zita, at Steenockerzeel, Belgium, and especially by a wholly unanticipated declaration of allegiance to Otto, made at the same place, by another leading contestant, the Archduke Albrecht. Otto, though still a school-boy, will come of age on Nov. 22, and there are plenty of rumors that thereupon some sort of overt effort will be made to place him on the throne on which his proud family presided over the destinies of Central Europe for fully six centuries.

Archduke Albrecht's renunciation af-

fords another illustration of how love sometimes spoils the best laid plans of politicians and ambitious mothers. Having failed, years ago, to bring about a union between one of her daughters and the ill-fated Archduke Franz Ferdinand of Austria, the Archduchess Isabella has of late busied herself with plans for making her son Albrecht King of Hungary. It is said that more than \$2,000,000 has been spent in forwarding his pretensions. In the course of a visit to The Hague a year ago the youth fell in love with the wife of a minor Hungarian diplomat, and after she had secured a divorce the pair appeared together at a villa in Rudolfzell, much to the indignation of the Archduchess and many of his erstwhile supporters. A family quarrel resulted, and a few weeks ago Albrecht was packed off to South America, presumably to



SOUTHEASTERN EUROPE

forget. Before sailing, however, he paid a visit to ex-Empress Zita's castle and there, in the presence of witnesses, surrendered his anti-Legitimist claims and pledged allegiance to the young Otto, thus completely upsetting all his mother's plans.

Meanwhile, at Budapest, the Social Democratic opposition, through Deputy Karl Peyer, demanded in the Chamber of Deputies that the government make a statement, with the question of the monarchy's restoration in mind, as to the extent to which foreign countries were "concerning themselves anew with the possibility of startling developments in the near future." If only for economic reasons, Herr Peyer maintained, the government should give the lie to widespread stories which were damaging the country's credit abroad. Precisely the sort of statement demanded seems not to have been forthcoming, but certainly no reason arose

for doubting the government's unchanged intention to let the throne remain vacant.

Count Albert Apponyi, Hungary's "grand old man," its chief representative in the League of Nations, and hitherto a supporter of the present government, threw a bombshell into Parliament on May 23 when, without warning, he delivered a savage attack on the country's anachronistic electoral system, which he called the joke of all European peoples who still profess ideals of democracy. The outstanding feature of the system is that outside the capital and a few other cities, in other words, in 205 of the 245 constituencies employed in electing members of the lower chamber, voting is "open," rather than by secret ballot. Soviet Russia is the only other European State in which such a method prevails. In Count Apponyi's indictment it was asserted as a matter of universal knowledge that under existing arrangements electors are terrorized, opposition candidates find it impossible even to visit their constituencies, elections are not and cannot be free, and that until a change comes nothing resembling true representative government will ever be attained. Even where the secret ballot is employed, government pressure is often complained of, and the constituencies themselves are of grossly unequal size.

M. Scitovsky, the Minister of the Interior, replied somewhat lamely that the open ballot cannot be held responsible for all the country's troubles, that "general suffrage does not always bring true democracy," and that the government had no intention of changing the system at present. On May 25 it was reported unofficially, however, that, in recognition of the strong popular response to the Apponyi protest, it had been decided to authorize the use of the secret ballot at the next general election in all urban constituencies, which include 110 of the 245.

Premier Bethlen, in a stirring plea in Parliament on May 16 for ratification of The Hague reparation agreements, promised the country that so long as he

is at the helm the Budapest Government will never relent in its efforts to secure a revision of the Trianon treaty which severed 3,500,000 Hungarians and their properties from the fatherland. "Every Hungarian," he declared amid cheers from all sides of the chamber, "wants a revision of the Trianon treaty. Hungary can never adapt itself to the present situation. We do not intend to sell our birthright on the Danube for a few material advantages." The present, he went on to say, however, is no time to press for treaty changes. For a time the nation must content itself with seeking protection for its minorities living under the rule of the Czechs, Rumanians and Yugoslavs, and with hoping that "the day of revision is not far off." Responding to the Premier's plea, Parliament passed the first reading of The Hague agreement by an overwhelming majority.

Economically "parched," Hungary, like Austria, eagerly awaits a foreign loan, with which the name of J. P. Morgan & Co. is persistently associated. The world crisis in wheat production has almost ruined the farmers, and the wine industry is stagnant for lack of markets. In Budapest, as in Vienna, bankruptcies and suicides keep up melancholy competition.

In the words of a correspondent of *The New York Times*, "Count Bethlen's government of job and favor has done much for Hungary in the realm of foreign politics, but domestically it has come high. Foreign observers say that unless it substitutes for its present disjointed and unrelated economic policy a considered and comprehensive plan, and unless the administrative channels through which the new loans are to flow to irrigate Hungarian agriculture and industry are made more leakproof, the loan here, as with Austria, is likely to accomplish little of national value."

POLAND—But for the many elements of real tragedy in the situation, the new chapter in the perennial contest of Dictatorship versus Parliament written during May might well be

set down as comic opera. The country's constitution requires the President of the republic to summon both Houses of Parliament in extraordinary session if the requisite number of members so petition. On May 9 a petition bearing the signatures of all of the opposition groups of the Left and Centre in the Sejm was placed in President Moscicki's hands, and on May 20 an extraordinary meeting was fixed for three days later.

Even before the time of meeting arrived, however, it was apparent that the summons was a mere gesture. In the first place, the Senate was not called, on the specious argument that its members had not petitioned; hence no legislation could be enacted. In the second place, the Slawek Cabinet, recognized as the most hostile to Parliament since the present dictatorship began, frankly announced that any disposition of the Sejm to proceed with a long-interrupted investigation of excess expenditures in 1927-28 by former Minister of Finance Czechowicz, or indeed to criticize the government in any way, would result in instant prorogation; and it was a foregone conclusion that, whatever happened, the Premier would promptly advise the President not to permit the Legislature to sit and work.

What actually happened was that at the last moment the Sejm was not permitted to convene at all. One hour before the time fixed for the opening, a courier from the Premier delivered to M. Daszynski, the Sejm marshal, a Presidential decree postponing the session for thirty days. The reason assigned was that the Premier could see no way of fully cooperating with the representative body in bringing the country relief from the severe economic depression from which it now suffers, and that the body could not be allowed to play a political game against the government at a juncture when all the nation's resources must be mobilized to cope with the crisis.

In point of fact, the country stands urgently in need of economic and other legislation which has been held up by deadlock for fully four years. Financial bills taken up during the budget ses-

sion of many weeks ago were left in abeyance, and proposals for changes in the constitution are hanging in mid-air. The government will not work with a Parliament that has passed a no-confidence vote against it, yet cannot, without legislation, do things that the country's well-being requires. If, says the Opposition, cooperation with the present Sejm seems so clearly impossible, Premier Slawek should not hesitate to dissolve Parliament and hold new elections, instead of merely playing hide-and-seek with the present body. There is, however, no prospect that such elections would yield a more tractable Sejm majority; and, no one being better aware of this than M. Slawek himself, the proposal falls of its own weight. Unless some solution, still below the horizon, is arrived at before Oct. 31, the time when by constitutional requirement the annual budget session must be opened, the situation will be critical.

RUMANIA—Agitation for the return of former Crown Prince Carol, which for three years was not taken very seriously, assumed the character in May of a really threatening movement. General Averescu, former Prime Minister and present leader of the small Averescu party, espoused the Prince's cause, and the well-known politician, Gregori Filipescu, did the same. Prince Nicholas, brother of Carol and member of the Regency Council, showed renewed determination to defend the exile's interests. A meeting of local organizations of the ruling National Peasants party on May 19 ended with warm manifestations in the Prince's favor and resolutions of protest against the action of the Liberals in attacking him, as had been done shortly before through a pamphlet which the government suppressed. On June 3 it was announced that the royal refugee had irrevocably broken off his relations with Mme. Magda Lupescu. All this was but the prelude to the dramatic return of Prince Carol on June 6, when he unexpectedly landed at Bucharest after an airplane flight

from Paris. This sudden reappearance of the Rumanian prodigal apparently had long been in preparation, but was precipitated by a fresh quarrel in the chronic discord between the Dowager Queen Marie and her son, Prince Nicholas. Premier Maniu's loyalty to the boy King, Michael, caused him to resign the reins of government, and a new Cabinet was immediately formed under the leadership of Professor George Mironescu, Foreign Minister in the Maniu Government. On June 8, after enthusiastic street demonstrations and after the attitude of the army had made clear the popularity of Prince Carol, the Rumanian Parliament declared null and void all acts relating to the Prince's abdication and exile and recognized him as King *de jure* since the death of his father, on July 20, 1927. With the exception of Theodore Florescu all the members of the Liberal party refrained from voting on the annulment, and the party thus evidenced its continued hostility to Carol. Immediately after the action of Parliament the new King took the oath of fealty to the Constitution, and amid storms of cheering was proclaimed Carol II. A few hours later the Mironescu Government resigned, but the Premier was asked to conduct affairs until a new Cabinet could be formed.

Since Professor Alexander Cusa, the anti-Semitic leader, was returned to Parliament in a recent bye-election, there has been a recrudescence of minor anti-Semitic disturbances, supported apparently by the anti-Semitic wing of the Liberal party. Numerous street attacks upon Jewish pedestrians have been reported.

BULGARIA—After long and stormy negotiations, the Liaptcheff Cabinet was reconstructed on May 15 so as to include ex-Premier Tsankoff (as Minister of Education) and two of his followers. Ever since M. Tsankoff relinquished the Premiership in January, 1926, he has been president of the Sobranje and has manipulated that body along the lines which he found

difficulty in following as President of the Council of Ministers, namely, firmness toward Yugoslavia, a sympathetic neutrality toward the Macedonians, and a remorseless campaign against the Third International and its affiliations in the old Peasant party of Stambulisky. The resignation, on May 14, of four ministers who either were Macedonians or were known to be sympathetic toward the IMRO (Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization) seemed to indicate a reorientation less favorable to the Macedonian cause. Twenty-four hours, however, brought a complete reversal of the situation. The majority of Sobranje members are avowed Macedonian sympathizers.

It was reported on May 9 that Bulgaria and Italy had concluded an agreement for an Italian free harbor in Varna; also that the Sofia Government,

greatly to the alarm of American and other foreign dealers, had given the Italian automobile industry a virtual monopoly in the Bulgarian market.

YUGOSLAVIA—The long-expected reconstruction of the Zivkovitch Cabinet, an advisory body by means of which the dictatorship of King Alexander imparts a semblance of constitutionalism to its administration, was carried out on May 19, when two more Croats were added to its membership. Dr. Stanko Schipenik was appointed Minister of Agriculture and Nikola Preka Minister of Social Welfare, in succession to two other Croats who were at the time Ministers without portfolio. The appointment of these two new Ministers raised the number of Croats in the dictatorship Cabinet to six.

NATIONS OF NORTHERN EUROPE

By JOHN H. WUORINEN

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY, COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

DR. FRIDTJOF NANSEN, famous Arctic explorer, humanitarian and friend of world peace, died suddenly at Oslo on May 13. Dr. Nansen's unexpected death plunged Norway into grief. The Storting and other public buildings flew flags at half staff, and all evening papers appeared with mourning borders and long tributes to the most famous of Norway's citizens.

To the Norwegian people Dr. Nansen was much more than a polar explorer. He was a national figure who had played a decisive part in effecting the separation of Norway from Sweden in 1905, and so strong was popular gratitude that, although it is not widely known, there was a strong movement to make him the first King of modern Norway. The choice ultimately fell on a Danish Prince, now King Haakon VII, but Dr. Nansen remained a hero to his people and moved on to new and wider tasks.

By coincidence, Dr. Nansen's death occurred just before Norwegian Constitution Day, May 17. Constitution Day, which this year commemorated the twenty-fifth anniversary of Norway's independence from Sweden, usually is given up to rejoicing, but on this occasion, though Oslo awoke to its annual holiday in brilliant sunshine, with flags flying, rejoicing was forgotten in the knowledge of Dr. Nansen's death. Flags everywhere were lowered to half-mast for two hours while the funeral ceremonies took place. At 10 o'clock Dr. Nansen's bier was carried to the platform of the university auditorium, where students with black caps formed a guard of honor. The square was garlanded with the national colors, and through its open doors thousands caught sight of the Nobel Institute's bust of Dr. Nansen, who won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1922. There was a poignant moment when the children's procession passed the bier and their clear

voices, singing the national anthem, suddenly stopped while the children lowered the flags they carried and looked reverently toward the bier. The official funeral ceremonies, which were attended by King Haakon, Crown Prince Olaf and the entire diplomatic corps, were followed by a procession through the streets.

H. A. St. George Saunders of the League of Nations Secretariat, and at one time Nansen's private secretary, writes in part: "I first saw Dr. Nansen on Nov. 18, 1920, standing on the rostrum of the Assembly Hall to deliver his first speech in the first of the ten sessions of the Assembly which he attended. He stood there, tall and fierce, the massive head balanced on a pair of broad shoulders, the hands clutching a sheaf of notes from which he spoke somewhat laboriously. He stood there, a man of action, transported, as it seemed, into an assemblage of diplomats. For him governments and diplomacy were necessary only in so far as they could be used for the people behind them. In all his work, in everything that he did in public life, that idea, and that alone, was dominant. The force of his great and overwhelming personality never failed. He could and did appeal directly to the simple emotions in man, so that those audiences went away realizing as they had never realized before what it was to be born a human being. He was a man of great self-control and unruffled temper except when he suspected insincerity or dishonesty. Then he could be, and was, terrible. Perhaps his spirit wanders now in the glory of the Northern Lights, in the illimitable space of the White North which he knew so well. Certainly his memory lives in the hearts of the men and of the women whom he saved."

At the time of his death Dr. Nansen was still serving the League of Nations as High Commissioner for Refugees, and it was in this capacity that he contributed to *CURRENT HISTORY* for July, 1929, a striking article describing his work in rescuing millions of war victims from disease and starvation.

The Norwegian Minister of Defense, it was reported on May 15, has completed his proposal for the reorganization of the country's land and naval forces. The combined budget for the two branches of the service will be 30,000,000 kroner. A considerable reduction of the infantry, the scrapping of fortress artillery and the reduction of the cavalry forces are contemplated by the reorganization program.

FINLAND—The annual party conference of the Agrarians, held in the closing days of April, precipitated a lengthy discussion on the attitude of the party toward the question of prohibition. By a vote of 159 to 44 the conference adopted a resolution presented by Minister Leppälä calling for the retention of the present prohibition plank in the party platform. This placed the party unqualifiedly on the side of the law as it now stands.

SWEDEN—Carl Gustaf Ekman, Director of the Public Debt and leader of the People's party, accepted on June 3 King Gustaf's invitation to form a Cabinet in succession to the Lindman Government, which resigned on the preceding day, following a defeat in the Riksdag.

The Lindman Ministry was placed in a precarious position in the closing days of April. Minister for Foreign Affairs Trygger on April 27 was obliged to accept an adverse vote in the second Chamber, when his procedure at the Geneva Customs Conference was censured by a vote of 114 to 90. By May 9 the situation had developed to a point where a Cabinet crisis was considered imminent. The special Riksdag committee appointed to discuss the government propositions for farm relief rejected the suggested increases on agricultural import duties. The Social Democrats and the Liberals furnished the majority responsible for the rejection. The fate of the Cabinet was decided on May 31, when the Riksdag debated the grain tax bill proposed by the Conservatives. While the government pro-

posed to aid agriculture by an increased import duty on foreign grain, the Opposition parties favored making the millers mix a certain proportion of Swedish grain with each unit of foreign produce. After a turbulent debate, the government bill was defeated and M. Lindman's resignation followed two days later.

M. Eckman is a former Premier and Minister of Finance and at one time was a blacksmith. He formed a Cabinet in June, 1926, resigning in September, 1928, when the Lindman Cabinet came into office.

Some two weeks before the Cabinet change, the Opposition showed its temper on the question of armament expenditures. The Left majority of the Finance Committee on May 20 reduced the budget proposal of the Ministry of Defense by 4,350,000 kroner. Since the Conservative Ministry had labored hard for the acceptance of its proposals, and in view of the unwillingness of the Opposition to grant the amounts requested, the problem of military expenditures is more than likely to obtain a new definition at the hands of the new government.

At the Postal Conference, held in Stockholm on May 12-14, three conventions were signed—between Sweden and Finland, Finland and Norway, and Finland and Denmark, for the purpose of facilitating intercourse between the signatories. The conventions become operative on July 1, 1930, and will remain in force indefinitely, unless they should be renounced by one of the contracting parties.

The proposals of the arbitration committee to settle the conflict in the Swedish paper industry were accepted by the employers but rejected by the employees.

The Stockholm Exposition was opened on May 16, in the presence of King Gustaf and many celebrities. The exposition will continue through the Summer and will serve to demonstrate Sweden's accomplishments along the most important lines of national progress.

A national census has just been completed, the final tabulation showing a population of 6,120,080. This is an increase of only 14,890 during the year 1929. Among the cities Stockholm showed the largest gain.

The Swedish night air-mail traffic to the European Continent is now in its fourth season. It has been extended to cooperate with seven foreign aviation companies and nine postal systems in six different countries.

LITHUANIA—The latest incident in the Vilna territory, which is held by Poland and claimed by Lithuania, was referred on May 30 by the Secretary General of the League of Nations to the President of the Council, Dr. Marinkovich, Foreign Minister of Yugoslavia. The action was taken in accordance with the Lithuanian Government's request. The Polish Government's comment that the Council has no jurisdiction since the question "is not an international" affair was submitted at the same time. According to the Lithuanian complaint, Polish troops ordered a group of young people at the village of Dmitrauka to disperse. When they refused the troops began to "massacre" them, firing "hundreds of shots," with the result that one man in the party later died of wounds. It was also charged that several women were struck with gun butts. The Lithuanian Government, in a telegram dated May 22, asked the Secretary General, in conformity with the Council's resolution of 1927 dealing with the Polish-Lithuanian dispute, to submit the complaint to the President of the Council with a view to an inquiry to protect the lives of the "inhabitants of the occupied territory" from terrorism. The Secretariat first submitted the complaint to the Polish Government, which briefly replied that since the incident occurred on "Polish territory, between Polish subjects," the Council resolution did not apply, and the Polish Government rejected any intervention in Lithuanian-Polish affairs.

The internal political situation in

Lithuania during May once more brought to the surface Professor Waldemaras, ex-Premier and Dictator. On May 2 he issued a statement predicting war between Poland and Russia in the near future and accusing Poland of a desire to annex Lithuania. On May 24 he was indicted on a charge of high treason because of a statement to the press alleging that the Lithuanian Constitution has no authentic foundation and that the present government has been guilty of several violations of the Constitution. It was also stated on the same day that the control committee of the Tautininkai party had decided to exclude Waldemaras from the party.

A change in the Lithuanian Cabinet

occurred on May 11, when M. Klimas, Lithuania's Minister to France, arrived at Kaunas to assume office as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

LATVIA—M. Zelmins, the Prime Minister, delivered an address on May 16 in which he surveyed the internal political situation of the country. He particularly emphasized the Communist threat, pointing out that this illegal party is represented in Parliament and there labors for its objectives. The Premier stated that the most immediate task confronting the government is to bring this condition to an end, a pronouncement tantamount to a threat to exclude the Communists from the National Legislature.

THE SOVIET UNION

By *EDGAR S. FURNISS*

DEAN OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL, YALE UNIVERSITY;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

POLITICAL AFFAIRS in the Soviet Union have been dominated during the past month by preparations for the biennial convention of the Communist party which was to open on June 15. Through this sovereign organ the party requires of its leaders an account of their stewardship and lays down the broad outlines of policy for the guidance of government over the next two years. The imminence of this important event added greatly to the political significance of economic developments in Russia, especially with respect to the progress of the Spring sowing. Even in off years the reports from the country districts have high news value at this season, since they are generally accepted as a forecast of the country's economic welfare over the immediate future. But this year the Spring sowing, it is generally admitted, will apply the supreme test to the five-year program in its agrarian phases; and the result will justify or discredit the Stalin leadership before the convention of the Communist party.

Until very recently it has been impossible to speak with assurance regarding the success or failure of the program in agriculture. Earlier predictions were upset by Stalin's agrarian decrees in March, which, by placing the whole movement upon a voluntary basis, caused sudden and violent changes in the extent of collectivization. As the agrarian reports have accumulated, however, it has become apparent that the movement as a whole has passed the crisis and increased its hold upon the country. The figures, in addition to recording the total area sown to different crops, report these totals in terms of the percentages of land embraced in the three principal types of agrarian organization—individual, collective and State farms. By the end of May the government was able to announce that the Spring sowing, as a whole, entirely fulfilled the specifications of the five-year program. The collective farms account for 50 per cent of the area as compared with 3 per cent a year ago, and the State farms have increased during the year

from 2 per cent to 5 per cent of the total. These two types of socialized agriculture, therefore, embrace 55 per cent of the total arable land, while individual farming has fallen in relative importance from 95 per cent of the total to less than half. Commenting upon the immediate effects of his agrarian decrees Stalin said in April that a record of 40 per cent agrarian socialization by the end of the Spring planting would be a very satisfactory showing. The actual accomplishment has substantially exceeded these expectations.

These successes of Stalin's policy were reflected in the air of confidence with which the party leaders prepared for the Communist convention in June. Party discipline was sorely tried by Stalin's dictatorial tactics; a collapse of the collectivist movement would have brought discredit upon him and his lieutenants. There are individuals aspiring to party leadership and blocks of party opinion ready to be organized into an opposition; and these dissident elements awaited only the opportunity afforded by the biennial convention to advance their personal fortunes and give effect to their policies. The confidence of the present Communist leaders that their record of achievement would confute these rivals was shown when Land Commissar Yakovlev published on May 20 the agrarian platform upon which Stalin and his group would take their stand before the convention. The platform reaffirms without equivocation the agrarian decrees of March, makes a flat claim of unqualified success for the present program and condemns those sections of the party which are "tainted with the Left heresy of overharshness." The following day Commissar Quibeshef, president of the Supreme Industrial Council, announced the corresponding platform for the industrial sector of the party program. This, too, calls for a vote of confidence on the ground that the government's program has been an outstanding success. M. Quibeshef's figures show an expansion of industrial output of 65 per cent during the past two years as compared with 47.5 per cent required

by the original program; an increase of 88 per cent in capital equipment as compared with the expected 58; and, in numerous special lines of industry, a record of progress still further in excess of original expectations.

These pronouncements, in common with all campaign documents, are open to suspicion as to their accuracy. It is doubtful, however, whether the party leaders would dare publish distorted statistics on the eve of the party convention. This biennial meeting of delegates from the local Communist organizations is the one time at which the individual party member can speak his mind with absolute freedom; for until decision is reached Communist theory encourages the widest range of discussion and criticism. The fact that, between meetings of the convention, the opposition is throttled by the rigid doctrine of party loyalty and, indeed, is required to carry out policies and employ tactics which it condemns, increases the vigor and bitterness of dissent on the floor of the convention. The procedure is for the party leaders to submit "theses" or platforms which summarize and defend their proposed policy; other groups and individuals do the same, and the outcome of the resulting clash of opinions controls the entire party and the government for the next two years. With so much at stake, Stalin and his group must be very sure of their ground else they would not have ventured the forthright declarations mentioned above.

The dearth of engineers and other highly trained technicians, a serious weakness of Russia's five-year program, has international implications of especial interest to the United States. To be completely successful, the program demands the services of some 60,000 of these highly skilled workers, and it is estimated that Russia can supply not much more than a third of this number. Reference has been made in these pages to the strenuous educational campaign now under way in Russia, but these efforts cannot result in supplying the necessary personnel within the next three years. During its

early industrial stages the United States imported both the requisite capital and the technicians from abroad. Russia is not able to command foreign capital, but she cannot escape the necessity of calling upon other countries to supply the key men in her labor force; and this necessity is an important element in her international political relationships.

On the whole, Russia's effort to induce foreign industrialists to come into the country with their own capital for the purpose of pioneering in the industrial field has proved a failure. This is clearly, though not intentionally, shown by an analysis of the foreign concessions in the Soviet Union published in April by the Amtorg Trading Corporation. In 1929 there were fifty-nine concession enterprises in operation in Russia, of which forty-six were foreign concessions of the strict type. At the opening of the last fiscal year, foreign concessionaires had invested \$9,250,000 of their own money, but of this only a little more than \$3,000,000 had been imported from abroad, the rest representing accumulated profits. The balance of the capital investment was borrowed from Russian banks. Of the 59 enterprises only 4 were American, 18 German, 11 Japanese, 6 English, 5 Austrian. Applications for new concessions during 1929 were numerous, fifty-four having been submitted by American interests alone; but few of the applications came from firms which are able and willing to make substantial investments of capital. The figures certainly present the whole concession system as a trivial development in proportion to Russia's industrial needs. Moreover, recent experiences of certain foreign enterprises have not been such as to encourage other capitalists to venture in this field. Several important concession enterprises during the past few months have had serious difficulties with the government resulting in their dissolution. The publicity given to the controversy between the Soviet authorities and the Lena Goldfields Company, a British concern, has been especially detrimental to Russia's

standing among foreign business interests. This concern, having been closed by the Soviet Government, has left a number of unsatisfied claims which are being settled by a Berlin court of arbitration. Four of its employees, all Russian citizens, were sentenced by a Moscow court on May 8 to jail sentences of from one to ten years on charges of sabotage and espionage.

The Soviet Government has been more successful in its efforts to enlist foreign leadership through its importation of skilled labor as a result of agreements either with individual engineers and technicians or of "technical assistance contracts" with large business enterprises. According to recent Russian figures, 1,350 specialists are now working in Russia under individual salary contracts. Most of them are Germans, but some 500 come from the United States. In addition to these agreements with individuals Russia has formed upward of a hundred contracts with foreign business concerns to provide comprehensive technical assistance and direction to entire departments of Russian industry. Forty-three of these contracts are with American business enterprises. Roberts & Shaefer Company, Allen & Garcia Company, Stuart, James & Cooke are advising the Soviet coal industry. The Akron Rubber Company and the Seiberling Rubber Company are helping to launch an infant rubber industry. The Ford Motor Company, the Electric Auto-lite Company, the Hercules Motor Company, the Timken-Detroit Company and others are doing the same for the automotive industry. In the hydroelectric field, H. L. Cooper & Co., the International General Electric Company and many other well known concerns are active. Oil, chemicals, textiles and meat packing are developing under the expert guidance of American technicians; and a gigantic irrigation project is entrusted to the American firm of A. P. Davis and associates. There is no evidence that these engagements have worked out otherwise than happily for the foreign firms and individuals concerned. A special division of the Soviet Department of

Workers and Peasants Inspection which administers Russia's labor code has been set up to care for the interests of these foreign technicians, and they are treated with utmost consideration.

But, as stated above, this increasing reliance upon foreign skill, however free from embarrassing consequences in individual cases, is a complicating factor in Russia's foreign policy. It is so completely out of harmony with the dogma of world revolution and the spectre of the satanic capitalist which figure so largely in the Communist creed that the Russian Government has difficulty in squaring its practice with its professed principles. One obvious result is the decreasing belligerence of the official Soviet attitude toward other countries and the toning down of opinion within the Communist party, which make the Bolshevik of today so much more respectable according to foreign standards than he was a decade ago. Moreover, this spreading economic entanglement with other countries creates a delicate problem for the Soviet leaders in their relations with the foreign branches of the Communist party. Communist doctrine declares war upon the social and political institutions of other countries. The foreign units of the party are represented as embattled vanguards of an international army operating under the command of a general staff composed largely of Russian Communists who are, at the same time, identified in foreign opinion with the official government of Russia. The duty of these foreign sections of the party to wage war against the same capitalists upon whom economic necessity forces the Soviet Government to rely for the success of her domestic program creates an antithesis of doctrine and policy which it is difficult for the Russian leaders to resolve.

Certain events in the international relations of the Soviet Union during the past few weeks illustrate these difficulties. On the whole, Russia's official relations with other nations have been placid, with the possible exception of Poland, whose "Colonels' Cabinet" is accused by Moscow of plotting to

strengthen their domestic control by launching a war against the union for the ostensible object of freeing the Ukraine. But in various parts of the world opinion has been inflamed against the Soviet Union through the subversive activities, real or imaginary, of local Communist groups. In the United States the feeling aroused by the religious controversy was just beginning to subside when Grover Whalen, Police Commissioner of New York, appealed to American business interests to break off commercial relations with Soviet agencies on the strength of documentary evidence that the Amtorg is implicated in conspiratory activities of American Communists. The charge was immediately denied by the Soviet press and by the Amtorg, who denounced the documents as forgeries. In Congress, Representative La Guardia presented convincing evidence that Commissioner Whalen's evidence was spurious. But a Congressional committee of conservative personnel has been appointed to investigate the activities of American Communists and their relations with Moscow; and in the meantime Russia's economic relations with our business men suffer from the resulting uncertainty and suspicion.

Rebellious tribes on the northwest frontier of British India, taking advantage of the Gandhi disorders, have risen in revolt. There is no evidence that their revolt is fomented by the Russian Government, but they have assumed the red badge of Communism and their leader, Mian Jaafer Shah, was trained in the Soviet school of Indian propaganda in Russian Turkestan. A dispatch of June 2 records the arrest of eight Communist leaders in the Peshawar district and the suppression of radical conspiracies under martial law. These incidents strengthen conservative opinion in England to retard the development of commercial relations under the new-born trade agreement with Russia. In China, the savagery of the Communists who control four Provinces is one of the forces undermining the Nationalist Government, and this,

in turn, has delayed the Russian-Chinese negotiations for the settlement of the Eastern Chinese Railway dispute which are in a state of suspended animation in Moscow. In May, Korean Communists destroyed Japanese Government property in an uprising, which,

though presumably local in origin, has disturbed relations between Russia and Japan. These events, of slight international importance in themselves, acquire significance from Russia's urgent need for tranquil business contacts with the chief capitalist countries.

THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

By ALBERT HOWE LYBYER

PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS;
CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE ARAB DELEGATION made a statement in London on May 13 setting forth its impression "that the Arab case in Palestine will not be justly solved by the British Government, with which the Zionists have such great influence as to hinder it from doing justice or from removing injustices in our case." This declaration was related to a statement made at the same time by the British Colonial Office:

The delegation has expressed its views on a number of subjects, particularly land, immigration and the grant of a constitution. His Majesty's Government has taken note of its view on these subjects.

It was pointed out to the delegation that the sweeping constitutional changes demanded by them were wholly unacceptable, since they would have rendered it impossible for his Majesty's Government to carry out its obligations under the terms of the mandate.

The Grand Mufti met Secretary General Sir Eric Drummond and other officials of the League of Nations at Geneva on May 28, and on the following day left for Jerusalem. It is understood that he explained the Arab demands, in particular the prohibition of Jewish immigration, the adoption of a parliamentary government under a constitution, and the protection of Arab rights in the land. He is believed to have been told that all his negotiations must be conducted through the mandatory government and the Mandates Commission.

On May 27 the British Government

issued a "White Paper" in London, containing a statement which was to be presented at Geneva on June 3. The intention was expressed of working within the limits of the mandate, while the findings of the Shaw commission as regards the difficulties of last August and the complaints of Zionists and Arabs were accepted. "The question of the temporary extension of immigration is under examination, and legislation is to be introduced with the object of controlling the disposition of agricultural land in such manner as would prevent the dispossession of the indigenous agricultural population." A definite statement of policy as regards the functions of the Zionist Organization and Executive was promised. A new scheme of defense, which will involve sealed armories, is in process of creation.

The Jewish Agency for Palestine submitted on May 30 to the Secretary General of the League of Nations a critical analysis of the report of the Palestine Inquiry Commission. The statement contends that the commission ignored "the express direction of the mandate to promote close settlement and intensive cultivation. * * * There are strong prima facie grounds for doubting whether the land question played the big part in the disturbances attributed to it by the commission, or, indeed, any part at all." The commission's estimate of 460,000 as the Arab rural population is affirmed to be excessive. Palestine's absorptive capacity is not static but



THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST

elastic. "The agency would welcome any bona fide legislation designed to safeguard the interests of the Arab cultivator, raise his standard of living and his technical equipment, and enable him to extricate himself from the burden of debt which has made him a slave of those, or the associates of those, who now come forward as his champions."

A special session of the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League of Nations was opened in Geneva on June 3 to consider the Palestine situation. The principal business consisted of hearing a report from British representatives and questioning these persons by the ten members of the commission. The report of the Shaw commission, accompanied by about 1,000 pages of evidence, was laid before them.

From April 19 to 21 a Pan-Hindu-Moslem conference on the affairs of Palestine was held at Bombay. Fifty thousand persons are said to have attended the meetings, and a peaceful parade of 200,000 persons marched through the city. Resolutions were adopted to be sent to the Arab delegation then in London. The conference declared that the Holy Land of Palestine is under the guard not merely of the Moslems of Palestine but of the whole

Moslem world. Throughout the centuries the Moslems have permitted Christians and Jews to worship in Palestine according to their respective faiths and to go there on pilgrimages, but they cannot now permit Palestine to be a place for the settlement of the Jews of the entire world, to the exclusion and detriment of former inhabitants. The conference insisted on the abrogation of the Balfour declaration and of the British mandate. It requested the release of all Moslem Arabs condemned because of the uprisings of last August. It was decided to celebrate a Palestine Day in all India, Burma and Ceylon on May 16.

An official statement indicated that early in May the High Commissioner had approved an immigration schedule of about 3,300 persons for the half year ending Sept. 30, including 950 persons whose admission had already been sanctioned. The British Government had decided, while permitting the admission of the 950, to suspend admission for the remaining 2,400 pending the report of the special mission now in Palestine. Zionist Jews reacted vigorously, affirming as their mildest criticism that the government's action violated the principles of the mandate. It was felt that Arabs would be en-

couraged to violent action. As a protest against the suspension of immigration the Jewish National Council in Palestine, supported by the Chief Rabbinate, ordered on May 20 a peaceful general strike of the entire Jewish population in Palestine from noon until nightfall on May 22. This decision is said to have been carried out thoroughly, all Jews refraining from office or manual labor, as well as from railroad and motor travel. Meetings were held in the synagogue and special prayers were said.

The administrative council of the Jewish Agency prepared and presented to the British Government a request for the revocation of the order restricting immigration. On the other hand, Palestinian Arabs requested that the sale of Arab lands to Jews be likewise suspended until after Sir John Simpson's report shall have been received and considered by the British Government.

In the interest of diminishing the bitterness of relations between Arabs and Jews, different Jewish groups petitioned the Palestine Government to reprieve all Arabs convicted of murdering Jews during the troubles last August. As a consequence of these requests and of British decisions, eighteen out of twenty-one convicted Arabs were released from the death penalty. The cases of the remaining three and of the one condemned Jew were left under consideration.

A Jewish society in Palestine called the *Brith Shalom*, or the "Covenant of Peace," which was one group that petitioned for the reprieve of the Arabs sentenced to death for murder, has adopted a program for cooperation between Jews and Arabs in an attempt to create a permanent *modus vivendi*.

The British Government announced in May its choice of commissioners to be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations to investigate the question of the Wailing Wall. Those chosen were M. Loeffgren, formerly Foreign Secretary of Sweden; M. Barde, a judge from Switzerland, and M. Van Kempen, former Governor of Sumatra.

Justice Louis Brandeis and his "group" issued on May 22 a statement indicating on what terms they would resume relations with the Zionist Organization of America, which were broken in 1921. They declared that Zionist effort should be directed primarily to the economic development of Palestine, and in particular toward immediate settlement of Jews there. They asked for "complete reorganization of the Zionist Organization of America in methods of control, in methods of management, in personnel and in finance."

A small commotion was created at Jerusalem early in May by the appearance of the first American "talkies." Conservative Hebrews argued that the youth of their people were in danger of hearing too much of the English language, particularly with the somewhat objectionable American accent, and also of commingling with the sober Hebrew music new tunes brought from Hollywood. The attempt was suggested to have the talking done in Hebrew.

The High Commissioner appointed a committee of officials to examine into the condition of farmers and recommend measures for its improvement.

Palestinian imports during 1928 amounted to about \$37,000,000, while exports were \$11,000,000. Each of these figures represents an increase of about \$2,000,000 over the previous year.

TURKEY—The Turkish Government has engaged the services of the French financier Charles Rist to examine into its financial conditions and make recommendations. The Debt Commission is said to have agreed to a considerable reduction of the payments due in 1930.

Mahmud Essad Bey, the Minister of Justice, brought suit against Haidar Rifat Bey, the leader of the Turkish bar, who was charged with having libeled the Minister in declaring publicly that the former had exceeded his powers in ordering changes of venue and exerting pressure on the bench. The trial before the High Court at Ankara resulted in the acquittal of the accused.

The trial of Rifat Bey also involved the question of the liberty of the press. The Minister of Justice had transferred a number of trials of editors to Brusa on the ground that conviction could not be obtained in the courts of Istanbul (Constantinople). The press of Turkey gave an extraordinary amount of space to the trial.

Chakir Bey, Minister of National Economy, announced in April that the government had granted a concession to the American Smelting and Refining Company for the opening of a silver-lead mine. Immediate changes were promised in the mining laws, which as formulated in 1926 require that the principal officers and half the directors of any company operating in Turkey must be Turks. The governing group is evidently endeavoring to harmonize its fear of foreign influence with its desire to reopen mining operations among the rich deposits of Anatolia.

On June 1 the provisions of law came into effect, according to which it is strictly forbidden to make use of Arabic characters in writing or printing Turkish. Violations of this law will be punished severely. A law of March 27 authorized the subsidizing of newspapers approved by the government for three years, commencing with 1929. Journals using rotary machines will receive \$3,500 for the first year and those using other machines \$1,100, the amounts diminishing in the subsequent years. From Nov. 1, 1928, until March, 1930, 1,000 books were printed in Istanbul in the new alphabet. The great majority were school books; about 40 were novels, and 15 were volumes of verse.

A claim for some \$12,500,000 presented by the heirs of the former Sultan Abdul Hamid for land and houses in Tripoli and Cyrenaica was disallowed on April 22 by a joint Turco-Italian tribunal in Istanbul, on the ground that the claimants had lost their Turkish nationality.

The value of Turkish foreign commerce during 1929 amounted to imports of \$128,000,000 and exports of \$78,000,000, the former showing a decrease of

\$16,000,000 and the latter of \$9,000,000. The decrease in imports reflects the general condition of depression in the country. That of exports consisted largely in the items of raisins, figs and nuts. During the last six years Turkey has built and put into operation about 1,500 miles of new railway line, representing an increase of more than 60 per cent in the mileage of the country.

PERSIA—Riza Shah Pehlevi continues to struggle against financial corruption in Persian public life. Lately Prince Firuz Nosrat ud Daulah, an ex-Cabinet Minister, was tried and found guilty of accepting a bribe of \$2,000, and was sentenced to a fine of \$5,800 and four months' imprisonment, besides being deprived of his political rights.

An agreement has been concluded whereby the government has obtained from the Imperial Bank of Persia the relinquishment of the bank's exclusive right to issue notes. The government will pay \$1,000,000 to the bank on March 20, 1931, and the bank will also be released from the obligation to pay royalty on its profits.

The new gold rial will contain .3661191 grams of gold with the proportion of nine-tenths gold and one-tenth copper. This represents the value of approximately 24.3 cents or one shilling.

AFGHANISTAN—The British Legation at Kabul was reopened early in May under Richard Maconachie, the new British Minister. A few days later King Nadir Shah took occasion at a council to warn his people against interference with the difficulties in Northwestern India, and also discussed the evils that are connected with revolutionary movements.

King Nadir Shah has ordered the election of a new national assembly to consist of twenty-five persons between 25 and 55 years of age, knowing how to read and write. Exceptions to the educational requirements may be made for men of high reputation and occupying important positions in the country. The

King has announced also a program of development, to include road building, encouragement of transport, promotion of agriculture, exploration of mineral resources, and the establishment of friendly relations with foreign countries. Motor traffic is being resumed over the 210 miles of road between Peshawar and Kabul. Before the recent disturbances motor transportation was also beginning to be used over the eighty miles of inferior road between Kandahar and the railhead at Chaman.

EGYPT—The failure of the London conference between delegates of the British and the Egyptian Governments (which is described in an article by Judge Pierre Crabites on pages 737-742 of this magazine), was received with remarkable quiet in Cairo, partly because the students were working on examinations, and Moslem holidays were impending. The Nationalists answered criticisms with the slogan "We Did Not Sign Away the Sudan." When the delegation returned through Alexandria on May 18 it was received with enthusiasm. Nahas Pasha made a short statement about the treaty negotiation to the Chamber of Deputies on May 20. He commended British hospitality and courtesy and said that their efforts had really met with great success, since an agreement was reached, except for minor points. "The will to reach a mutually acceptable agreement was fortified by the suspension of negotiations. The London visit engendered new bonds of friendship between the two governments and peoples. Time will find a solution of all the questions."

On May 26 the Chamber and the Senate passed unanimously a bill to bring into force the treaty of conciliation and friendship, signed with the United States at Washington on Aug. 27, 1929. On the same day a provisional commercial agreement was signed by the American Minister and the Egyptian Foreign Minister, providing most-favored-nation treatment, and terminable after three months' notice by either side or by mutual consent.

The Finance Ministry arranged in May to appoint an American expert on tobacco culture to work in Egypt for three years. So-called Egyptian tobacco, it should be pointed out, is not grown in that country but brought from elsewhere, particularly from Turkey and Greece.

The receipts of the Suez Canal Company during 1929 amounted to about \$45,000,000, being the highest on record. The Canal dues will be reduced from Sept. 1 by 25 centimes, making the charge per ton \$1.30 for vessels carrying freight, and half as much for ships in ballast.

During 1929 Egyptian imports amounted to about \$20,000,000, and exports were about \$13,000,000 less. The total trade of the Sudan for 1929 amounted to \$70,000,000, an increase of 10 per cent. The value of imports was almost precisely the same as that of exports. The country suffers from a scarcity of liquid capital. Progress has been on the whole tremendous during the past thirty years, including great improvement in roads and communication, general security, education, the advancement of agriculture particularly in the growth of cotton, the building of ports, and the establishment of irrigation projects. Public health is vastly better.

SYRIA—On May 22 Henri Ponsot, the High Commissioner, promulgated a new Syrian statute, which is an attempt to fill the place expected to be occupied by the Constitution worked upon two years ago. The principal difference is that the French-made statute reserves to France as long as the mandate is to be exercised all rights provided by the mandate. Syria is to be a republic with a Parliament elected for four years and a President who must be a Moslem and who will have power to adjourn or dissolve Parliament under certain conditions. Latakia, the Druse Mountain, and Alexandretta will continue to have substantially separate administrations, while becoming technically part of the Syrian republic. Meet-

ings of councils will decide matters of common concern.

French writers point out that between 1920 and 1930 the area of land under cultivation was doubled, the production of wheat was doubled, the production of barley was almost tripled, and the area under cultivation for cotton multiplied fiftyfold. Moreover, the production of silk increased more than fourfold. Exports have advanced from \$16,000,000 to \$21,000,000, and imports from \$33,000,000 to \$53,000,000. Studies are being made of the total resources of the country in water, with a view to its most effective utilization. The railways have been put into excellent condition and 1,300 miles of macadamized roads have been built, in addition to more than twice that length of good secondary roads.

The Damascus Government has decided to forbid the use of foreign salt in Syria with the exception of Alexandria.

The cadastral survey of Syria and the Lebanon is proceeding gradually, more than 300,000 estates having been measured by the beginning of 1930.

IRAQ—The Cabinet has decided to recognize Kurdish as the official language in the northern provinces. In response to the vigorous criticism of certain Nationalists, Nuri Pasha al Said, the Prime Minister, recalled how

Arabs had once asked the Turks to recognize Arabic as the official language of the Arab-speaking regions. Kurds should now enjoy such a privilege in Iraq, "for we want our brethren to love their Iraq fatherland and defend it whole-heartedly."

Sir Hilton Young spent the latter part of May and June in Iraq, surveying the financial situation with a view to making recommendations. Major questions were how to balance the budget and whether a national bank should be established and if so, on what plan. The serious fall in the price of grain has greatly reduced the taxpaying capacity of the people, and even if serious reductions have been made in the budget, it has not been brought to such a condition as to induce Parliament to sanction it.

Conversations were opened on April 1 in Bagdad looking toward a formulation of the proposed new treaty with Great Britain. The plan is that the treaty will come into effect when Iraq is admitted to the League of Nations, which it is expected will take place in 1932.

Contrary to apparently well-founded expectations, the cotton crop of Iraq showed a reduction for 1929 to 4,600 bales. This resulted from the locust invasion, other insect pests, and unusual water levels in the Tigris River.

THE FAR EAST

By HAROLD S. QUIGLEY

PROFESSOR OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND FAR EASTERN RELATIONS,
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA; CURRENT HISTORY ASSOCIATE

THE EXTRAORDINARY session of the Diet of Japan, which was prorogued on May 14, was rendered historic by the passage in the House of Representatives of a private member's bill endorsed by the government, granting the suffrage to women in village, town and city elections. The bill failed, however, to emerge from committee in the House of Peers. Both major political parties—the Minseito or

government party and the Seiyukai, principal opposition party—introduced bills, and there was negligible opposition to them in the lower house, one member arousing derision by exhibiting fears that the men would be unable to afford the additional expense of buying election kimonos for their politically conscious wives. To some extent the bills constituted a gesture, a bid for recognition as democratic by parties

which might have been less eager had they not known the certainty of failure in the upper house. Notable also was the absence of provision for the parliamentary franchise. Suffragists filled the galleries. They expressed the belief that the next bill would be a government bill and that another ten years would be sufficient to bring women to political equality with men.

The reaction of official and parliamentary circles to the London naval treaty figured largely in the month's news from Japan. In the Diet the Opposition directed assaults of a vigorous character, but did not attempt a vote of censure, indicating their recognition that the government had its majority back of the treaty. Two primary issues developed—the sufficiency of the terms and the authority of the Cabinet to accept them. Concerning the first there appeared to be general disappointment but recognition that the discrepancy between what Japan wanted and what her delegation obtained could hardly be fatal. On the question of Cabinet authority the discussion was warmer since it involved the long-standing controversy between the civilian and the military forces regarding in whose hands lies the power to determine naval policy. The Prime Minister, liberal newspapers and Professor T. Minobe, the most eminent authority on constitutional law, took the position that the naval and army authorities might advise only and that their special right to advise the Throne did not include the right to override the advice of the Prime Minister as spokesman for the Cabinet as a whole. Those who sided with Admiral Kanji Kato, chief of the Naval Staff Board, contended that the Constitution had entrusted the protection of the State to the military and naval authorities as advisers to the Emperor and that the action of Prime Minister Hamaguchi and his colleagues in authorizing the signature of the naval treaty in opposition to the views of the Naval Staff Board was unconstitutional. Others took a middle ground, asserting that if the constitutional order of things required that the

civilian ministers accept the decisions of the military branches of the government on such matters, it was desirable to develop new practices and thereby to inaugurate the evolution of a new constitutional rule.

The situation had a unique feature in the split between the Minister of the Navy, Admiral Takarabe, who had served as one of the delegates and signed the treaty, and Admiral Kato, both possessing the right to report directly to the Emperor. This split was observable in the ranks of naval officers also and suggested that very powerful forces were working for the success of the treaty. Admiral Takarabe delayed his return to the capital until after the Diet adjourned, frankly admitting that until opposition cooled his presence in the political vortex would not add to the government's difficulties. The chief delegate, Mr. Wakatsuki, did not return directly to Japan.

A meeting of the naval members of the Supreme Military Council was held on May 29 when Admiral Takarabe explained the action of the Japanese delegation. Information leaked out that Admiral Takarabe joined with his naval colleagues in censuring the government for not having obtained the approval of the naval staff before accepting the London treaty.

The Yokokai, an organization of reserve naval officers, adopted a resolution demanding Takarabe's resignation. The Navy Minister was presented with a dagger and urged to commit hara-kiri by a bystander in the station of Shimonseki. He declined to adopt either suggestion. Vice Minister Yamanashi, ranking Vice Admiral, expressed a desire to resign, and did so on June 9. The resignation of Takarabe would probably mean the fall of the Ministry, since it is doubtful whether any other naval officer would accept the post in existing circumstances. It was reported at the end of May that Admiral Kato would resign. The government, it was hoped, would stand out against him, as a precedent for civilian control of military policy.



A map of China proper, the eighteen provinces of which are separately marked, and of the other territories which are part of the Chinese Republic, though the status of Tibet and Mongolia is vague, while Manchuria and Sinkiang (the New Dominion which includes Chinese Turkestan) are quasi-independent

The Japanese Foreign Office formally concurred in the American interpretation of Article XIX of the treaty to the effect that no signatory may replace 6-inch gun cruisers with those carrying 8-inch guns. Newspaper reports that the new American cruisers would carry heavier armor plate alarmed naval men in Tokyo. The Foreign Office denied reports that the American Government had given a pledge not to lay down the last three of the eighteen 10,000-ton cruisers, which the treaty entitles it to do in 1933, 1934 and 1935 respectively.

Into the heat engendered by the discussion of the naval treaty two cooling influences were directed, one by Ambassador Castle, the other by Chairman Johnson of the Immigration Committee of the American House of Representa-

tives. Mr. Castle, in an address before the Japan-America Society, said:

What America must learn and can far more easily learn in this era of post-conference trust is that just because Japan's interests here are vital and just because Japan's trade with China is of paramount importance, Japan must be and will be the guardian of the peace in the Pacific.

This statement, read in conjunction with Mr. Castle's remarks of last January (see *CURRENT HISTORY*, June, 1930, page 599), was regarded in Tokyo as reaffirming a new attitude of confidence and collaboration between the United States and Japan. It was given greater weight when Japanese delegates returning from London reported conversations with American delegates on general issues not on the agenda of

the conference. Even more concrete was the following paragraph from Mr. Castle's address:

I believe that Japanese commerce with Central and South America is likely to increase vastly. Japanese traders know that they can go about their business in that part of the world in security, because the whole purpose of the United States is to maintain peace on the Western Hemisphere and to hold open the door of honest opportunity to all. America must learn to appreciate just as clearly the fact that Japan, the great, progressive and peaceful power of the Orient, will be an equally faithful guardian of the rights and opportunities of all on this side of the earth.

Mr. Castle left Japan to return to the Department of State as Assistant Secretary on May 27. On the previous day he laid the cornerstone of the new Embassy Building in Tokyo, which will be a beautiful and costly structure, on a commanding site near the new Diet Building.

Chairman Albert Johnson of the House Immigration Committee on May 23 proposed an amendment to the immigration act of 1924 with the object of placing Japan in the list of countries entitled to a quota. He stated that if his amendment were accepted by Congress it would result in a quota of 190, as compared with the present nominal quota of 100. In Tokyo, on the same date but an actual day earlier, former Ambassador Hanihara, whose "grave consequences" note assured rather than hindered the passage of the 1924 law which forbade the immigration of non-accepted classes of persons not eligible to citizenship, declared before the Japan-America Society that the resentment engendered in Japan at the time "is felt now as it was then, nor will it ever die out so long as the wound inflicted remains unhealed." The news of Mr. Johnson's amendment was warmly received in Japan, but in view of his reported statement that his move did not propose to alter the general prohibition of the 1924 act against aliens ineligible to naturalization, it would appear that the ultimate consequences of his amendment are likely to be increased misunderstanding and resent-

ment in Japan. The Japanese people are less concerned about an opportunity to live in the United States than about recognition of equality and fitness to live here. No mention appeared in news reports of the relation of the Johnson amendment to the exclusion of other Oriental peoples.

A Tokyo dispatch of May 31 reported the bombing of buildings belonging to the Korean Association in Seoul, capital of Chosen (Korea). Terrorist acts also occurred at Chientao, Manchuria, near Chosen. Fear was expressed that Communist agitators were inciting revolt against the Japanese authority. Early in May Vice Governor Ohira of the Japanese leased railway in South Manchuria reported that anti-Japanese sentiment was running high in Manchuria, rendering progress in the further extension of the Kirin-Kainei Railway toward Chosen impossible.

The Social Affairs Bureau of the Home Ministry reported that 351,589 men were without work during March. This number was an increase of about 100,000 since six months ago. Labor troubles and strikes continued to increase.

CHINA—The civil war (on the general causes of which an article will be found on pages 689-696 of this magazine) was resumed early in May and continued throughout the month, without a definite victory either for the Northern "rebels," led by Yen Hsi-shan and Feng Yu-hsiang, or for the National Government's forces, captained by Chiang Kai-shek. A heavy toll of life, both combatant and civilian, was taken by the contending forces, while large bribes were employed to build up either army by desertions from the other. Huge bandit units took advantage of the withdrawal of military police to devastate towns and to kill and ravage the populace by the thousand. Coming after two years of comparative quiet and progress, marked by foreign recognition and new treaties, this outbreak of disorder was more damaging to China's international standing than the real situation justified. However

sincere the National Government may be—and its sincerity is now internationally recognized—it has powerful foes. The latter may sincerely feel that Nanking is too hasty in its centralization program. The unfortunate element in the situation is the opportunity it affords for numerous parasitic militarists to fatten on funds that the people so badly need for social and economic betterment.

Thirty Japanese Army officers, mainly from the artillery and engineering branches, were engaged as instructors by the Nanking Government, a more momentous contract than appeared on the surface, since it evidenced the friendly attitude of the Japanese Government. Forty-six German Army officers were already in the employ of Nanking. The Japanese Government announced that the officers obtained in Japan would be forbidden to take the field and restricted to school instruction, which they would not undertake for several months. A number of high Japanese Army officers are advisers of General Chang Hsueh-liang in Manchuria. The Nanking armies made very effective use of a number of bombing planes purchased in the United States.

Late in May T. V. Soong, National Finance Minister, addressed a warning to General Chiang that the national treasury would be exhausted unless the war ended quickly. Shortly thereafter the Northern Government claimed to have won an advantage near Chengchow, Honan, and to have compelled the Nationalists to give way. The latter admitted a reverse, but declared that they had checked the enemy's advance. They retreated eastward along the Lunghai Railway, thus demonstrating the failure of their push into Northwestern Honan. The wounding of General Chiang Kai-shek was reported. Both governments besought Chang Hsueh-liang, the Manchurian war lord, to join them, but he remained aloof.

The area of the Nanking Government's authority was greatly reduced by the war and by Communist and other regional autonomies. It retained

Chekiang and portions of Kiangsu, Anhui, Hupeh and Shantung. Canton was in the hands of loyal allies.

The political situation south of the Yangtse River, in the provinces of Hunan, part of Kiangsu, Kweichow, Kiangsi and Kwangsi, was especially difficult to assess. There appeared to be no well-established provincial governments in the entire region and no recognition whatever of any general authority over it. The news despatches contained many accounts of "Red" raids, accompanied by diabolical outrages. The central city of Hankow was harboring 50,000 refugees. At Amoy, in Fukien Province, raids on Communist headquarters yielded masses of material but the authorities were prevented from using the evidence by the strength of Communist sentiment in the city. From Swatow, Kwangtung Province, David C. Berger, American Consul, reported five out of twenty-five counties within his consular area in the hands of Communist troops. An incredible slaughter of 15,000 persons by 4,000 bandits and the complete destruction of Yungyang, Honan, was reported by Chinese sources. American and British authorities in the disordered areas advised their citizens to seek safety in the larger cities.

In Shanghai a second consideration of the demand of the Chinese taxpayers for the increase of their representatives on the council of the International Settlement from three to five resulted on May 2 in a practically unanimous vote to accord the desired number. Thus the council became a fourteen-member body composed of Chinese, British, Japanese and American members.

A tariff treaty was signed by representatives of Japan and China on May 6 and went into effect on May 16. Under it Japan recognized China's independence in tariff legislation, thus aligning herself with the other treaty powers, the first of whom to recognize the new status of China was the United States, in July, 1928. It was understood that the discussion of relinquishment of extraterritoriality by Japan would be the next step.

American consuls in China issued a statement from Washington to the effect that the extraterritorial rights of Americans in China were regarded by their government as still in force. Since the Nanking Government's declaration of Dec. 28, 1929, purporting to abolish extraterritoriality, a number of American defendants have voluntarily permitted cases to be tried in Chinese courts. The statement added that the question of relinquishment would soon be studied by the two governments.

The Weihaiwei retrocession agreement between China and Great Britain was made public. The British Government agreed to turn over without charge the archives, buildings, lands and stores at Weihaiwei, while the Chinese Government agreed to lend the British navy buildings and facilities on Liukungtao Island in Weihaiwei Bay for ten years, with an option for renewal, and also to permit anchoring privileges for the navy between April and October annually and drilling on the island. The agreement is to take effect on Oct. 1. Weihaiwei will remain a treaty port unless China decides to transform it into a naval base.

The foreign public debt of China is one of the outstanding problems in the relations of the Chinese Government with other nations. An analysis of this problem has appeared recently from the pen of Arthur G. Coons, Assistant Professor of Economics in Occidental College at Los Angeles (entitled *The Foreign Public Debt of China*, published by the University of Pennsylvania Press). The first large-scale borrowing by the Chinese Government goes back to the time of the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5. Since that time war and indemnity loans have been floated periodically until the total today approximates \$300,000,000. These loans were and are secured by customs receipts and certain internal revenue dues, such as that on salt. Soon after the war with Japan when the foreign powers began a scramble for railway concessions in the Celestial Empire further burdens were added to the chronically embarrassed Chinese Treas-

ury. The railway contracts were rather to profit foreigners than to benefit the Chinese and succeeded in building only a few thousand miles of railway while saddling the country with a debt which today is probably not far from \$250,000,000. But the foreign concessionaires were interested in much more than railways. Telegraph lines and public works in cities offered possible profit and security although costing the Chinese some \$30,000,000. All these loans, together with others for general administrative purposes, were secured in some manner or other; they totaled when the last figures were available \$765,000,000. Unsecured loans for further railway and industrial development and for military purposes come close to another \$250,000,000. Thus the entire foreign debt in round numbers may be considered as over \$1,000,000,000. The present chaotic conditions in China militate against the finding of sufficient revenue to meet the annual charges on the secured debt, while even the interest on the unsecured debt is being regularly defaulted. Such a situation is certain to continue until a strong central government is organized, a government strong enough to collect revenues and apply them to other ends than the carrying on of chronic civil war. Potentially China is probably capable of meeting the obligations on her foreign debt. Not only does this depend upon political stability but also on a wise fiscal and financial policy and on economic development. Traditionally China has been an importing nation and this has entailed a regularly unfavorable balance of trade. As the industrial revolution builds up modern industrial life in the country and new methods make for a surplus in certain agricultural products the balance may be shifted. But the situation is highly complex and the root is political; not only does the solution depend on the political stabilization of China but also on the fact that the "international commitments of China are important internal political questions—such as extraterritoriality, the foreign loans and foreign financial control."

BOOK REVIEWS

Continued from Page 639

is an exception to the dead level of mediocrity which distinguishes the volume. Those readers who in general are too busy to ponder the portents of our civilization will find themselves peculiarly depressed when they have finished the book. Those who were originally depressed will, on turning the last page, be even more so. It is indeed regrettable if the contributions to this book are symptomatic of the thinking of the men who are guiding this machine age.

In his introductory chapter Mr. Beard compiles a list of the many complaints which have been lodged against the machine age. This bill of indictment, as set out by Mr. Beard, contains the following charges: a "quantification," a mechanization and a standardization of life resulting in a purely material and utilitarian morality. The democracy of ballot-equality, quotes Mr. Beard, is a delusion. Furthermore, machine civilization, typified in the United States, brings forth no great art. (To this charge one writer answers: "No handicraftsman ancient or modern could produce a product so artistic and handsome as a high-grade, machine-made woman's shoe.") Lastly, goes the charge, the machine threatens a destruction of our natural resources, and another world war of machines and chemistry which will wipe out all our Western civilization.

As engineers are the men who must remedy these defects, says Mr. Beard, it is only fair that they should offer their defense of the world they are making. For fourteen chapters, therefore, engineers of various capabilities take the stand and make their pleas. Not one of them can be said to have answered specifically and directly the charges against him. All avoid the issues, weakly gliding over problems with evasive peans of praise.

Very few of the contributors have anything new to offer. Their essays are noticeably lacking in fire, imagination and literary originality. The writers have apparently no real insight into the social and economic complexities which industrialism and mechanization have created. They do not delve into realities but skim along surfaces. To some extent repetition in the articles is to be expected and is justifiable. Such chapters as those on

"Modern Industry and Management," "Machine Industry and Idealism," "The Machine and Architecture," are bound to touch at some point or other. But careful editing would have omitted those paragraphs where the ideas and the expression of ideas were so nearly identical. Though the book is itself a product of mass production, it is regrettable that the language and terminology should be so standardized. It is not the acceptable standardization of a scientific terminology, which would probably be unadvisable in a book of such popular aims, it is the standardization of literary and psychological mediocrity.

On the question of unemployment, which most of the writers have evaded entirely, there is one attempt to reassure us as to the future welfare of the workers. C. F. Hirschfield, in his essay on power, says that every machine which employs one man where twenty were needed before requires for the making of its component parts the work of those twenty men. This is highly questionable. Some of the twenty undoubtedly are employed that way, the others are not.

The book has a certain dubious value for its surveys of the history of important scientific developments. An outline in the manner of H. G. Wells or Van Loon of the developments of transportation and of communication is not without worth, but here we find methods of treatment that are deplorably amateurish. For example, the most mediocre intellect must be aware of the lamentable quality in the presentation of material provided by Lee De Forest's expatiation on the beauties brought by the radio to the isolated life. In contrast to this is Roy V. Wright's article on transportation, which is reassuring. In a rational way he "makes a rough inventory of our present situation in the transportation world, and notes a few of the tendencies and difficulties which may help us to determine the general direction in which we are now headed."

Another acceptable chapter is that by William E. Wickenden on "Education and the New Age." It is sufficiently penetrating, and without being superficial or vague is comprehensive of the scope which modern education must have. Furthermore, this writer is objective, which many of the contributors, because of per-

sonal affiliations with their subjects, are not. He analyzes the present educational situation with insight, and is swept by no emotional enthusiasm for the marvels of the age.

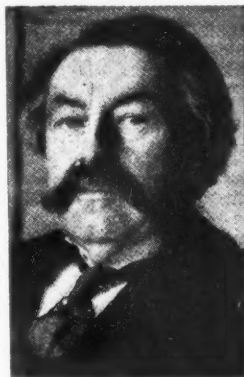
Prepared as an answer to *Whither Mankind*, the present work as a whole is a disappointment. The time is undoubtedly ripe for a careful stock-taking of our present civilization. Indictments should be answered, if not to justify the trends of our age at least to find out in what direction these trends must be guided. *Toward Civilization* has failed in a field that offered every opportunity for success.

Briand, Man of Peace

By LEO GERSHOY

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY

THE history of the international relations of Europe in the decade following the war centres in the extraordinary influence exercised by Aristide Briand. The very mention of his name calls up Cannes, Geneva, Locarno,



ARISTIDE BRIAND

the Kellogg pact, and now, the United States of Europe. For millions of people he is the incarnation of France's foreign policy, the prophet of a Europe at peace. While not without honor abroad and at home, Briand has nevertheless failed to gather about his name that glory and glamour which a Clemenceau or a Foch in France or

a Hindenburg in Germany enjoy, though his considerable achievements in the interests of peace constitute a claim fully as great as any that his more successful contemporaries may present.

The reasons for this paradox are not difficult to state. Briand has followed the path of peace. He has made compromises. Never aggressive, neither by policy nor by temperament, he has temporized with his opponents and fashioned himself to circumstances. He has been conciliatory—through policy and perhaps from habit and

certainly from personal inclination. But the road of a conciliator is not an easy one. Readiness to compromise is often interpreted as weakness of character, reluctance to use force as timidity, open-mindedness and tolerance as disloyalty, if not absolute dishonesty and treachery. Mlle. Thomson's lively sketch of Briand's career* very clearly brings out this non-aggressive, pacific quality of the statesman. When, as a Socialist, he cherished the hope of bringing together the various factions and set an example of cooperation by serving in a bourgeois Cabinet, his Socialist and labor associates denounced him as a traitor. During the war when he looked beyond a mere military victory and pleaded for "peace through victory," he fell afoul of "the Tiger." Now, after the war, he has still to overcome the distrust and hostility of many of his compatriots who are unable to accept his conviction that one may—and must—think in terms of Europe as a whole and not sacrifice his title to national patriotism.

Mlle. Thomson, the daughter of a former colleague of Briand and his personal friend for many years, disclaims any attempt at writing a formal biography. Her only wish, she says, "is to let others know Briand as I do and to show how the events of his life, constantly animated by a desire for peace, led inevitably to his present efforts for a United Europe." Her book is a combination of two procedures—special pleading of her thesis concerning the life-long efforts of Briand for peace and a series of intimate sketches of the man. It is no disparagement of Mlle. Thomson's efforts to remark that the familiar and friendly picture she has drawn of the man himself is the more valuable part of her work. Much spade work by historians will be required before a critical appraisal of Briand's accomplishments becomes possible; and research and critical evaluation are not distinguishing characteristics of her book. By taking us behind the scenes, by descriptions of Briand at home on his farm or again at the Foreign Office at the Quai d'Orsay, through anecdotes about Briand at work and at play, through fragments of conversations with him, she has given us a pleasing portrait of the great statesman. It is perhaps unnecessary to add that more than one reader of her

**Briand: Man of Peace*. By Valentine Thomson. 340 pages. New York: Covici-Friede. 1930. \$5.

book will find the portrait too pleasing for his taste or judgment.

The author divides the story of his career into three parts—his early days as a Socialist and union organizer, his years as a political leader in the Chamber of Deputies and as Cabinet Minister before and during the war, and the post-war period. As a boy in Brittany he dreamed of going to sea, but his first teacher, M. Genty, helped him win a scholarship for the *collège* at Nantes, and from Nantes he went on to Paris, where, like Renan, another illustrious Breton, he had his first awakening. At Paris the naïve, immature young provincial who had lived among the workers, studied law, explored the Latin Quarter, became a member of a literary and artistic circle and dined with such future celebrities as Bourget, Maupassant, Huysmans, Coquelin and the "divine Sarah." He returned to Saint Nazaire, his natal town, and set himself up as the editor of a country newspaper, combining his practice of law and his activities as labor propagandist with his journalistic venture. Circumstances led him to Paris. He plunged into the Socialist movement, became acquainted with Jaurès, took an active part in the vindication of Dreyfus, distinguished himself at a Socialist congress at Marseilles as an advocate of Socialist cooperation with the bourgeois political parties, entered the Chamber as the representative of the Department of the Loire (1902), and began that amazing political career the end of which is still far from sight.

Since the author makes no pretense of attempting a critical interpretation of Briand's political career, it is not necessary to belabor the weaknesses of her work. It is frankly eulogistic with scarcely a single dissenting note of hostile criticism to suggest the manifest limitations of Briand's policy or the more subtle limitations of his character. "Briand's temperament never makes him an open opponent" is Mlle. Thomson's euphemistic understatement of Briand's unrivaled genius for intrigue and his mastery of every political wile that a hard-pressed politician ever utilized to defeat his opponent. Her treatment of Briand's memorable rôle in crushing the railroad strike of 1910 is glaringly inadequate, even for a whole-hearted admirer like herself. Neither the Clemenceau of 1917 nor the Poincaré of the financial crisis of 1926 fare very well at her hands, for to have treated them differently would have required a state-

ment of Briand's inability to handle the situations that arose as well as either of them. The pages on the post-war period are the most sketchy of the entire book, but in this period, Briand, "man of peace," reached his highest stature.

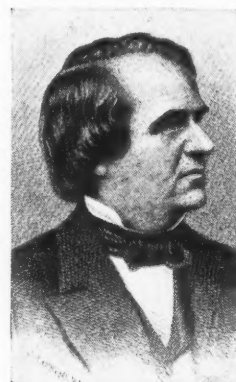
Where Mlle. Thomson has succeeded best is in analyzing and emphasizing what old-fashioned psychologists would call the *faculté maîtresse* of Briand—his lifelong pursuance of a peaceful ideal, his temperamental inability to attack directly and take his citadel by storm. For this reason her tribute to his persuasive genius in oratory and his unruffled grace under the most troubled circumstances is intensely convincing and may well be considered a perfect symbol of the man, Briand.

The Critical Era

By E. FRANCIS BROWN

NEARLY a generation ago the late Professor Dunning of Columbia and his students began to rewrite the entire story of Reconstruction. Their work frequently disagreed with and disapproved much of the statement and interpretation in the

volumes of a great work then in progress, James Ford Rhodes's *History of the United States*. The past few years have seen a revival of interest in Reconstruction which has expressed itself in several volumes rehabilitating Andrew Johnson and his "tragic era"; the latest of these is Howard K. Beale's *The Critical Year*.*



ANDREW JOHNSON

Few periods in American history are more charged with emotion than the years immediately following the Civil War; es-

**The Critical Year: A Study of Andrew Johnson and Reconstruction*. By Howard K. Beale. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930. Pp. ix, 454. \$3.75.

pecially was this true in political life. With consummate skill politicians played on heart-strings to secure the support of their fellows and of their public in carrying out policies which Professor Beale maintains were largely social and economic in aim. His thesis is that the first eighteen months of Johnson's Administration were occupied by what was actually a continuation of the old sectional struggle for power, a struggle ended only when the Republican "victory at the polls in November, 1866, decided that henceforth New England-bred economics and social standards, rather than those of the frontier and plantation, should rule America." That was the real issue and the issue in the minds of the Radical leaders, however well they might camouflage it by the emotional claptrap of the "bloody shirt" and hatred for Andrew Johnson.

Beale shows that the Radicals were particularly anxious to retain the war tariff which had been so advantageous to industry along with the equally valuable national banking system. Moreover, as representatives of industry and finance they desired to put an end to currency inflation and at the same time to guarantee the payment of the national debt in gold. None of these measures was popular and as campaign issues would most certainly have brought Radical defeat had not Southern affairs been used to throw dust in the voters' eyes. Unfortunately, the Johnson supporters failed to take the advantage and before the emotional campaign of the Radicals had small chance of success. However, Beale's analysis of the election of 1866 shows that the Radical victory was not as great as has been generally supposed.

President Johnson, Beale believes, was not a great man, but he was a good man, impolitic and injudicious at times, reserved and uncompromising, but ever a sincere, courageous and patriotic American fighting for what he held to be the true nature of the Constitution of the United States. Johnson, he says, "possessed those characteristics that make men blessed or damned, famous or infamous, because chance leads them to success or failure." The policy of moderation toward the South won public support and would have retained this support had not a well-organized campaign against every act and policy of Johnson poisoned the public mind. As a result of this campaign Johnson has come down through

the years as an uncouth drunkard, incompetent and untrustworthy. The escapades and moral lapses of his rakish son were transferred to a notably upright father. For once humble origin was not a political asset, and Andrew Johnson was ridiculed for the years he had spent at a tailor's bench.

His position on the economic issues, which so largely alienated the Radicals, was one of opposition to vested interests, privilege and monopoly; in short, Johnson was a democrat, a man of the people and fighting their battle. If the Southern Representatives had been admitted to Congress in December, 1865, as Johnson desired, Professor Beale believes that the industrial revolution in America would have been retarded, because the economic policies of the Radical leaders would have been swept away. This the Radicals foresaw, and this was the motivation of their policy toward the South. For better or for worse, Johnson lost the battle and the election of 1866 destroyed his forces.

An economic interpretation of the Reconstruction period is new and striking. Professor Beale has not labored the point too heavily, but has carried out an able synthesis of the economic and social drives in the political story. He admits that men like Sumner were motivated by idealism rather than materialism, and that Stevens was often purely vindictive toward the South, but he shows that Radical policy in general had a materialistic goal. His study of the social conditions which made for radical victory in 1866 is well done, perhaps especially the analysis of the influence played by press and pulpit in the Congressional campaign of that year. Throughout his study he attempts to reproduce conditions as they were seen by the average man, the voter of 1866—to attain the true historical perspective. While he is remarkably successful in this attempt, he does not achieve complete objectivity. One is constantly aware that the author's sympathies are with Johnson and the conservatives, that the Radicals and their policies are highly distasteful to him. Yet possibly no one can maintain entire aloofness in writing of Reconstruction.

Professor Beale's voluminous citations and extensive bibliography give his work solidity and authoritativeness. Yet it is not solidity with dullness, for the author's fortunate style enlivens his scholarly pages. He has clarified many of the minor points of the period and his in-

terpretation throws new light on the roots of radical policy. The work is a credit to American historical scholarship and a real contribution to the vast literature on Reconstruction.

An Austrian Statesman

By JONATHAN SCOTT

ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF HISTORY, NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

IT was one of the misfortunes of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy that in the perilous years preceding the World War the ship of state was steered by men of myopic vision. "Let us speak of the present," said Baron Aerenthal. "When it



JOSEPH M. BAERNREITHER

improves we can begin looking into the future." It was in this short-sighted spirit that in 1908 Aerenthal, as Foreign Minister, attempted to revive the monarchy's dwindling prestige by annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina, thereby angering Serbia, precipitating a grave international crisis and paving the way for the World War.

Neither Aerenthal nor Berchtold nor any one else in high authority during those fateful years attempted to develop a constructive policy for solving the monarchy's most dangerous problem, the South Slav question. Shutting its eyes to essentials the government stressed trivialities. When the consul in Belgrade sent a report to the Foreign Office urging closer commercial connections between Czech firms and Serbia the only reply was that reports should not be sent in "fastened together with red tape, but with black-yellow."

One of those who watched with painful anxiety the drifting policy of the government was Joseph Baernreither, who jotted down his views in a diary* now published in English. In a charming introduction

the editor of the diary, Joseph Redlich, tells us something of this man, little known to Americans, though a leading figure in his own country. Born in Prague in 1845, the son of a wealthy factory owner, reared in an atmosphere of culture, Baernreither became a lawyer and later served on the staff of the Ministry of Justice. In 1883 he was elected to the Bohemian Diet and shortly thereafter to the Imperial Parliament at Vienna. Later he was for seven months Minister of Trade under Count Thun. In 1907, defeated in his candidacy for Parliament, Baernreither was immediately nominated to the House of Peers and remained in Parliamentary life until the dissolution of the monarchy. After Francis Joseph's death he entered a short-lived Ministry formed by the Emperor Karl. In 1925 he died.

A broad-minded man of liberal views, Baernreither became interested early in his career in the South Slav question, visiting Bosnia and Serbia to study the problem at first hand. The dangers inherent in the government's stupid, neglectful policy became more and more apparent to him. After visiting Bosnia in 1908 he wrote: "When I was here for the first time in 1892, the atmosphere was one of energetic progress, well considered and full of eager hopefulness in the future; today, inactivity, doubt, apprehensiveness are the notes. Gone is the organized and conscious activity I once admired so much." With the government's pin-pricking policy toward Serbia he became thoroughly disgusted. The monarchy, he held, must either learn to live with that country or annihilate it, for there was no third way.

Annihilation was to Baernreither, however, but a last, desperate alternative. Ever anxiously hoping for a constructive solution of the South Slav question, he deplored the rising tide of chauvinism in Austria-Hungary. From time to time he formulated certain suggestions for the development of a constructive policy toward the South Slavs. Thus for improving Austrian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina he proposed "energy and vigilance, always accompanied by a due regard to national idiosyncrasies; a careful handling of the religious question, improvement of material conditions, above all among the country folk, with whom propaganda has not yet taken root. We must act in such a way as to win confidence in our rule, and must mold general con-

**Fragments of a Political Diary.* By Joseph M. Baernreither. Edited and introduced by Joseph Redlich. xxxii and 322 pp. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930. \$5.

ditions so that comparison between Serbia and Bosnia is favorable to us." His fundamental idea was that Bosnia and Herzegovina as well as Serbia should be so treated that the South Slav problem should be solved within rather than outside the monarchy. "We shall now lose Bosnia and Herzegovina," he said, "and compromise the whole South Slav question, unless we succeed in placing the centre of the South Slav world inside Austria."

When he tried to persuade those in authority to put his suggestions into practice, however, his words fell on deaf ears. The government continued to bungle its way along the path leading to destruction. Whether the vigorous adoption of Baernreither's suggestions would have saved the monarchy may, of course, be questioned. Possibly national antagonisms were so deep-seated that nothing could have prevented the destruction of the empire. Certain careful students like Professor Jászi, however, believe that if a constructive policy toward Austria's irredentas had been adopted early enough the calamity might have been averted. At any rate the attempt should have been made.

There is nothing startlingly new in Baernreither's diary nor is it compact with information carefully interpreted as is Jászi's *Dissolution of the Hapsburg Monarchy*. It constitutes, however, a useful source for the study of Austria's pre-war problems. Moreover, since Baernreither traveled widely, knew many people, observed carefully and wrote well, his diary is of the living body of history rather than of its dry bones.

New Zealand in the Making

By C. HARTLEY GRATTAN
AUTHOR OF *Why We Fought*

PROFESSOR CONDLIFFE'S monograph on the economic history of New Zealand* will make exceedingly interesting reading for all those who are interested in the English-speaking countries of the Southern Hemisphere. Moreover, the monograph is of prospective utility to students of Pacific politics, British Empire relations, experimental social

legislation and the progress of democracy. The book is packed full of factual data drawn from primary sources carefully presented and cautiously interpreted by one who has been a constant student of New Zealand for a lifetime. It is not often that one comes across a book of this nature, and I am at a loss to name a single volume which tells so much about Australia or South Africa.

New Zealand is popularly considered in this country to be one of the two countries of the world most interested in social legislation of an experimental sort. To explain this reputation and reduce it to proper proportions, Professor Condliffe is at great pains to present the economic background of the period of legislative experiment, the '90s. He shows how the country was first settled in an organized fashion after 1840 and grew with amazing rapidity during the following fifty years in spite of the handicaps of distance from the mother country, geographical barriers to easy communication on the separate islands and between the islands, Maori wars and so forth. The first period of flush times came in the '60s and '70s, and the natural and normal prosperity was directly stimulated by heavy borrowings overseas for public works which were looked upon as investments for the future. From its establishment to the present day New Zealand's true prosperity has been based upon primary industries—in the first period on wool and, with the development of refrigeration, upon wool, meat and dairy products. Since all these products must find a market overseas, New Zealand's prosperity has been unusually responsive to international price fluctuations. The fall of prices in 1878-9 brought on hard times in the '80s and there came about a natural search for ways and means to bring the country back to prosperity. The usual resort of democracies in such situations has always been legislation, and New Zealand confirms the generalization. While social legislation can hardly be designated the generating force behind the return of prosperity in the early years of the twentieth century—which is more truly attributable to a new rise in international prices—it did serve to canalize the discontent and lay the basis of a very desirable social situation in which to work and live.

Optimistic social reformers all over the world took this extensive legislation as a harbinger of a golden age of democratic socialism, and fastened upon New Zealand

**New Zealand in the Making: A Survey of Economic and Social Development*. By J. B. Condliffe. Graphs and maps. 524 pages. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1930. \$5.

its reputation for radicalism which survives to this day. But under Dr. Condliffe's skillful analysis the true interpretation emerges. He emphasized over and over again that "empirical opportunism rather than doctrinaire theory is responsible for the various New Zealand legislative experiments." The extensive legislation of the '90s he sees as "an effective set of practical measures designed to break through a particular situation of economic difficulty." He sees no doctrinaire socialism in it at all, and, indeed, shows how little such socialism can appeal to the people of New Zealand. He emphasizes that many functions such as public utilities naturally fell into the hands of the State in a country which underwent a rapid development, and points to humanitarianism and fear of monopoly as the generating forces behind most of the subsequent amplifications of the legislation of the first period.

Indeed, Dr. Condliffe's emphasis is on the essential conservatism of the New Zealand people. He shows that the temporary alliance of the labor and liberal elements in the '90s was doomed to extinction with the return of prosperity and the break-down of the thwarting hold of the large landowners. The balance of power today rests with the small farmers, who give the tone to the country and control its destinies. The labor element is a working minority in the Legislature and it is unlikely that it will be seriously victimized because of the powerful humanitarian sentiments at large in the country. The distribution of population, of which only 25 per cent lives in the four large cities, insures this domination of the country and leads Dr. Condliffe to the generalization that "the small farmers remain stubbornly convinced that they have now little to gain and much to lose from alliance with the Labor party." He, therefore, refers students of State Socialism to Australia, and particularly to New South Wales. (Incidentally, this book underlines the fact that Australia and New Zealand are two widely different countries.)

A similar conservatism pervades other aspects of New Zealand life. The following is a summary of the New Zealand attitude toward imperial questions: "A fervent loyalty to the British Crown, distrust of constitutional changes within the empire, lukewarmness toward the League of Nations, and readiness to cooperate in imperial, and especially in naval, defense."

This is in remarkable contrast with the attitude of the leaders in Australia and South Africa, though it should be recognized that a good deal of Australian nationalism is combined with a distinct imperialistic urge.

And, finally, Dr. Condliffe has some harsh words to say about the cultural lag of the New Zealand people. His portrait of the intellectual life is truly appalling, much worse than the Australian situation which is depressing enough. He bodes forth a condition of dull mediocrity which bodes ill for the intellectual future of the country, however pleasing may be the material prospect. There is no earthly paradise, even in the South Pacific!

Brief Book Reviews

KING MOB: A Study of the Present-Day Mind. By Frank K. Notch. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1930. Pp. 226. \$2.

This is a plea for individualism in the face of the growing pressures of contemporary life. Particularly is it a plea for cultural individualism at a time when all influences are forcing us on to a sort of cultural bandwagon. This bandwagon spirit is the "mob" spirit which the author feels eventually will lower all cultural values and appreciation. He analyzes its appearance in America in the guise of book clubs, popularized treatises on science or morals, and "higher advertising." In these sentences is to be found the thesis: "Between the man and life stands Mass Production and the Mob. The Mob tastes and feels for the man. But it does not taste the thing he eats, nor feel the thing he touches." The solution suggested as an escape from the situation is "an emphasis on the non-utilitarian element in education" which will restore an understanding of the art of living where the individual may have his place. This essay on the spiritual ills of modern society would have been a startling challenge five years ago; today it evokes only a rather bored, "Well, what of it?"

THE LIFE OF LORD PAUNCEFOTE: First Ambassador to the United States. By R. B. Mowat. Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1929. Pp. xvi, 306. \$5.

As might be expected from its title this first biography of Lord Pauncefote is concerned chiefly with his years as British Minister and Ambassador to the United States. About one-third of the volume concerns his early years, his education and training for a public career. The major

portion of his life, the years at Hong Kong and in the Leeward Islands, in the Foreign Office and as Permanent Under-Secretary of State are dismissed briefly. In due course we reach the flowering of Pauncefote's career when, a man of 60, he was appointed in 1889 to the post in Washington. From this point Mowat develops at length Pauncefote's rôle in the diplomatic tilts and negotiations in which the United States and Great Britain took part. During the decade Pauncefote was in Washington he was faced by the threatening controversies over the Bering Sea seals and over the Venezuela boundary, but after the noise of these had died away there came the happy postlude of Anglo-American friendship during the Spanish-American War. Finally, Pauncefote's mission in life, the pursuit of Anglo-American friendship, was crowned by the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901, which settled amicably a half century of disagreement over canal rights in Panama.

SOME ROYALTIES AND A PRIME MINISTER: Portraits from Life. By Princess Marthe Bibesco. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1930. Pp. 216. \$3.

Princess Marthe Bibesco presents another collection of her gossipy portraits of European celebrities in this little volume. A life-time of association with royalty and nobility has equipped her for writing witty, interesting character studies. Among other figures included in this series are Alfonso XIII, the Prince of Wales, the Grand Duke Cyril, King Michael of Rumania and Herbert Asquith.

The Month in Literature

By MALCOLM O. YOUNG

REFERENCE LIBRARIAN, PRINCETON UNIVERSITY

THE book event of the month has been the trade controversy over the price question. It began at the American Booksellers' convention when after resolutions had been adopted condemning the sale of books through cut-price outlets, Doubleday, Doran, followed by Simon & Schuster, Farrar & Rinehart, and Coward-McCann announced price reduction. These affect largely the field of fiction, where, according to announcement, novels formerly selling from \$2 to \$2.50 will be listed from \$1 to \$1.50. Other houses have announced that they will not fall into line and prophesy that the experiment will bring only ruin.

From Chapman & Hall of London comes the announcement of a complete

edition of the writings of Shaw in twenty volumes, priced at thirty guineas (about \$150). Unfortunately, this edition, which contains heretofore unpublished material, is limited and was oversubscribed within the week of its announcement. The London cables also bring an item of interest to devotees of the late William J. Locke. Shortly before his death, which occurred on May 15, Locke had finished a full-length novel, called *The Shorn Lamb*.

Among those to receive the Order of Merit in the honors list published on King George's birthday were Dr. Samuel Alexander, Honorary Professor of Philosophy at Manchester University, and author of *Space, Time and Deity*, and Professor George Macaulay Trevelyan, Regius Professor of Modern History at Cambridge University. Trevelyan is best known for his classic study of Garibaldi and that hero's part in the unification of Italy.

The person who is looking for vacation reading will find plenty packed in any one of several omnibus volumes recently out. The Week-end Library, Issue of 1930 (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50) contains Somerset Maugham's *Of Human Bondage*, Morley's *Where the Blue Begins*, Conrad's *Youth*, besides an amazing amount of short stories, a play or so, humor, poetry, essays, all inside two covers. Percy H. Houston and Robert M. Smith have produced a volume of 1,200 pages, entitled *Types of World Literature* (Doubleday, Doran, \$3.50). A collection of war literature by such masters as Galsworthy, Conrad, Walpole, Rolland is edited, under the title of *Armageddon*, by E. W. Löhrike (Cape & Smith, \$5). H. M. Tomlinson, master of sea literature, has edited *Great Stories of All Nations*; also over a thousand pages (Doubleday, Doran, \$5.00). The Oxford press has issued *Selected English and American Short Stories* (7/6), while a contrast in size is the addition to the Everyman Library, *American Short Stories of the Nineteenth Century*, edited by John Cournos (Dutton, 80 cents). Donn Byrne's posthumous story of modern life in the South of France is *A Party of Baccarat* (Century, \$1.25). Llewelyn Powys's first novel is *Apples Be Ripe* (Harcourt, \$2.50), a story of rustic England written in his usual excellent style, which may make it limited in its popularity. Aldous Huxley's latest is *Brief Candles* (Doubleday, Doran, \$2.50), made up of three stories and a short "witty, malicious" novel. Eleanor Mercein's *Spanish*

Holiday (Harper, \$2.50) is a collection of short stories, making Spain vivid to us. *Potato Face* (Harcourt, \$1.50) is a new collection of Rootabaga stories by Carl Sandburg.

Perhaps the best poetry is the translation into modern English by Frank E. Hill of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* (Longman, \$3.50). T. S. Eliot, author of *Wastelands*, has a small volume, *Ash Wednesday* (Faber, 3/6, also a limited edition by The Fountain Press). *Ten Modern Poets*, Rica Brenner (Harcourt, \$2.50) is a series of simple but very useful studies. *Uncle Vanya*, by Anton Chekhov, is newly translated by Rose Caylor (Covici, \$2).

Walter de la Mare tries prose again successfully in his *Desert Island* and delightfully collects all sort of strange and amusing information on the subject (Farrar & Rinehart, \$4). In answer to Foerster's symposium in behalf of humanism (Humanism and America, Farrar & Rinehart, \$3.50) is C. Hartley Gratton's compilation, *The Critique of Humanism* (Brewer & Warren, \$3.50), with, among others, essays by Lewis Mumford and Edmund Wilson. Matthew Josephson has written on the difficulties of genius in America and of our famous expatriates, in *Portrait of the Artist as American* (Harcourt, Brace, \$3).

An important biography is Florence Hardy's second and concluding volume of her husband, entitled *The Later Years of Thomas Hardy, 1892-1928* (Macmillan, \$5.00). A biography from the French of Régis Michaud is *Emerson the Enraptured Yankee* (Harper, \$4). Scott literature has two valuable additions: Stephen Gwynn's biography (Butterworth, 15/) and *The Private Letter-books of Sir Walter Scott* (Hodder & Stoughton, 30/), made up of letters to him from his famous contemporaries. Stefan Zweig has a collection of three critical essays on Balzac, Dickens and Dostoevsky whom he calls the three greatest novelists of the 19th century (Viking, \$3).

Alec Waugh has given us a well-written book of travel, *Hot Countries* (Farrar & Rinehart, \$3.50). Alain Gerbault's *Inquest of the Sun* (Doubleday, \$2.50) also keeps to the tropics. Among a number of travel books unusually large even for this time of year are *America's England*, M. V. Hughes (Morrow, \$2.50), Clara Laughlin's useful *So You're Going to Germany and Austria* (Houghton, \$4), *A Wayfarer on the Rhine*, Malcolm Letts,

and *A Wayfarer in Bavaria*, Suzanne Baker (Houghton, each \$3); Norman Macmillan's *Air Tourist's Guide to Europe* (I. Washburn, \$3); Harry Franck's *A Scandinavian Summer* (Century, \$4); Janet H. M. Swift has written the history and description of the Passion Play (Revell, \$1.75) and Montrose Moses has a revised edition of the text (Duffield, \$2.50).

Recent Important Books

By MALCOLM O. YOUNG

BIOGRAPHY

BRIGHT, JOHN. *Hizzoner Big Bill Thompson*. New York: Cape & Smith, 1930. \$3.50.

A character who will be looked back at together with Boss Tweed, Jim Fiske and other American abnormalities. The book portrays him vividly.

COLEMAN, MCALLISTER. *Eugene V. Debs*. New York: Greenberg, 1930. \$3.50.

PAINTER, FLOY RUTH. *That Man Debs*. Bloomington, Indiana University, 1930. \$2.19.

The first is the more readable but is less analytical.

DREW, MRS. (Mary Gladstone). *Her Diaries and Letters*, edited by Lucy Masterman. New York: E. P. Dutton Company, 1930. \$6.

Covering from 1858 to 1924 with emphasis on the '80s. Keen pictures of her father and his contemporaries.

EASTON, EMILY. *Roger Williams, Prophet and Pioneer*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1930. \$5.

A completely and well told biography of one who was a religious and political Bolshevik of his day.

GWYNN, DENIS. *Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Liberator*. New York: Stokes, 1930. \$5.

The champion of Irish emancipation during the early nineteenth century.

HOWLAND, HEWITT H. *Dwight Whitney Morrow; with an introduction by Calvin Coolidge*. New York: Century Company, 1930. \$1.50.

A most timely volume on one whose present is watched with interest and whose future with even more. This is the first separate life.

TSCHUPPIK, KARL. *The Empress Elizabeth of Austria*. New York: Brentano, 1930. \$4.

The Empress of the last of the Hapsburgs, whose whole nature was so cramped by the court and her husband's nature that she spent little time with him. Side-lights on him and the period.

TSCHUPPIK, KARL. *Francis Joseph I.* Harcourt, Brace, 1930. \$3.75.

An Austrian journalist relates the main events of the long reign, showing the man who could not change his policies with the result that an empire inevitably had to fall.

WILEY, HARVEY W. An autobiography. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1930. \$5.

The subject is associated in most minds with the fight for the passing and fulfilling of the pure food and drugs act.

ECONOMICS

GRAS, N. S. B. and E. C. *The Economic and Social History of an English Village*, A. D., 1909-1928. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1930. \$7.50.

Including much original source material.

HAVEMEYER, LOOMIS. *Conservation of Our Natural Resources*. New York: Macmillan, 1930. \$4.

Based on Van Hise's book of the same title, that being the most comprehensive of the subject.

HISTORY

MORRISON, SAMUEL ELIOT. *Builders of the Bay Colony*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1930. \$5.

Done by a scholar who writes with brilliance (see his *Maritime History of Massachusetts*). A careful re-creation, largely through biographical means, of the real qualities of the Puritan.

NOBILE, UMBERTO. *L' "Italia" al polo nord*. Rome, Mondadori, 1930.

The story of the tragic episode by a chief participant.

POLITICAL SCIENCE.

BERTRAM, SIR ANTON. *The Colonial Service*. Cambridge University Press, 1930. 10s 6d.

One with extensive experience gives a valuable description of the organization of the colonial government of the British Crown Colonies, Protectorates and Mandated Territories.

CARPENTER, WILLIAM SEAL. *The Development of American Political Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1930. \$2.

A Princeton professor discusses the major doctrines from Colonial days to the present, with chapter headings: Contract and Controversy, Balance of Power, Foundations of Democracy, American Individualism, Majority Rule, Recent Tendencies.

HEWINS, W. A. S. *The Apologia of an Imperialist; Forty Years of Empire Policy*. 2 volumes. London: Constable, 1929. 30 shillings.

Formerly director of London School of Economics and Political Science and Under Secretary of State for the Colonies. Interprets the British colonial history and situation from the economic point of view, analyzing the whole imperial movement.

O'BRIAIN, BARRA. *The Irish Constitution*. Dublin: Talbot Press, 1930. 17s. 6d.

History and analysis given concisely and plainly, with comments on how it has worked. Text included.

STRONG, C. F. *Modern Political Constitutions*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1930. \$3.50.

The author traces the development from the Greeks. A comparative study under such headings as The Federal State, Flexible Constitutions, The Legislative, and includes minorities, protectorates and the constitution of the League.

WOODWARD, ERNEST LLEWELLYN. *Three Studies in European Conservatism: Metternich, Guizot, the Catholic Church in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Richard R. Smith, 1930. \$4.50.

"An attempt to understand three types of conservative thought and action between Waterloo and Sedan" and their relation to the stirring new ideas of their period.

SCIENCE.

HEALY, WILLIAM, BRONNER, A. F. and BOWERS, A. M. *The Structure and Meaning of Psycho-Analysis*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1930. \$5.

Written by a group sympathetic with, yet detached from, the movement. The entire field is well surveyed, the different schools portrayed, the whole forming as excellent a book as there is for one who wishes to know "what it is all about."

MITCHELL, General WILLIAM. *Skyways*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1930. \$3.

All sides of aviation, commercial, military, civil, with some of the writer's own experiences. The author is former commander of the Air Forces of the A. E. F. and Director of Military Aeronautics in the United States Army.

SOCIOLOGY

BOWERS, EDISON L. *Is It Safe to Work?* (Pollock Foundation for Economic Research). Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1930. \$2.50.

A study of an acute problem. The statistics of industrial casualties are startling. The compensation systems and improvements suggested.

MISCELLANEOUS

BROCK, H. I. *Meddlers*. New York: Ives Washburn, 1930. \$3.

From the Puritans to date, with much space devoted to the present status. Especially interesting is his case against Press Meddling.

LASKI, HAROLD JOSEPH. *The Dangers of Disobedience, and Other Essays*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1930. \$3.

The author examines the structure of political, social, educational conditions, pointing out inconsistencies, illogical situations, dangers, with some suggestions for improvement.

To and From Our Readers

[The Editor assumes no responsibility for unsolicited manuscripts unless accompanied by return postage. Anonymous communications will be disregarded, but the names of correspondents will be withheld from publication upon request.]

ORVILLE S. POLAND, head of the legal department of the New York Anti-Saloon League, contributed an article entitled "The United States Constitution and the State Legislatures" to the June issue of *CURRENT HISTORY*. The opening paragraph of this article read:

The New York Assembly at its recent session passed a resolution for a constitutional convention to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment; a majority of the Senate stood ready to concur, but through a legislative technicality it could not be brought to a vote before the Legislature adjourned; no doubt it will pass the next Legislature.

This paragraph was written by the editor of *CURRENT HISTORY* as an introductory note and should not have appeared as part of the article as written by Mr. Poland.

* * *

To the Editor of Current History:

Mr. Orville S. Poland in June *CURRENT HISTORY* asks: "Can Congress be compelled to call a convention or may it disregard the application of the States?" Article V in its final form in the Constitution provides two methods for its amendment:

1. Congress by two-thirds of both houses may propose amendments which shall be valid when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the States.

2. Congress on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States "shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, . . . shall be valid, to all intents and purposes, . . . when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths thereof."

It will be observed that Congress acts in both cases. In the case where two-thirds of the States have made application for amendments and Congress does not act the question is suggested, can Congress be compelled to "call a convention for proposing amendments"?

It would have to be assumed that everything had been done by the "Legislatures of the several States" so that there was left in Congress only a Ministerial duty to "call a convention for proposing amendments" indicated in the applications. Then assume a mandamus has been granted by the court to Congress to call a convention. The court's authority would end here. It could not indicate the manner in which "Congress shall call a convention."

Here "Mr. Madison remarked on the vagueness of the terms, 'call a convention for the purpose'! How was a convention to be formed? By what rule decide? What the force of its acts?"

"These questions," says Mr. Poland, "still remain unanswered, but there seems to be little doubt but that the power to pro-

pose amendments is resident in such a convention when called. The thirty-two States have applied. If the courts will grant a writ of mandamus to compel Congress to call a constitutional convention to propose amendments to the Constitution the questions involved will be speedily answered."

Would Congress be a law unto itself in calling such convention? Would the constituency and functions of the convention be controlled by the "call" and would it be limited in scope to the consideration of those amendments set forth in "the applications of the States?"

Many novel questions would arise. No precedent can be found for any of them. A convention got together in 1787 "to remedy defects of the Federal Government"—by what authority is not clear. That convention submitted a new Constitution which was ratified after a sharp and close controversy. A new Constitution is out of the question. A convention to consider "proposals amending" the Constitution is the question.

Hitherto no such convention has been called by Congress, nor so far as I know has been seriously considered. It will be a long time before such a convention is called, and if called, the prospects for any accomplishment should be classed as remote.

BRUCE L. KEENAN.

Tahlequah, Okla.

* * *

CAPITULATIONS IN OLD TURKEY

To the Editor of Current History:

In the June issue of *CURRENT HISTORY* in the article by Owen Tweedy, "The Regeneration of Turkey," there is one item that needs to be made clear. On page 526 Mr. Tweedy makes the following statement concerning the political status of the Greek and Armenian colonies in Turkey before 1920: "Protected by the capitulations, they [the Greeks and Armenians] had exceptional privileges, both in trade and in general conduct of life, of which they naturally made the most."

It would appear that the writer displays his unfamiliarity with the pre-war situation in Turkey by committing himself to such a statement. It is well known, and I think it is also an established fact in international law, that the capitulations applied only to foreigners in Turkey. The Greeks and Armenians were the inhabitants of Turkey for centuries and, therefore, citizens of that country. They were

not foreigners and as such they could not have been protected by the capitulations, as in fact they never were protected.

It is hardly necessary to add that since they were not protected by extraordinary legislation they could not have had "exceptional privileges, both in trade and in the general conduct of life."

A. O. SARKISSIAN.

University of Illinois, Urbana, Ill.

* * *

AMERICAN INTERVENTION IN RUSSIA IN 1918

To the Editor of Current History:

As an Englishman by birth, a Canadian by adoption and a volunteer member of the North Russia Relief Force of 1919, I was greatly interested in the articles in the *CURRENT HISTORY* of April, 1930, under the heading, "American Troops in Russia, 1918-19."

The hardships we suffered in Russia were many and it is easy to understand that they would be increased a hundredfold during the Winter. The climate was different to any which we had encountered before. All our supplies had to come up the river Dvina, and it was blocked by sandbars. There were no roads worth mentioning. After a few weeks of preparation a crushing defeat was inflicted on the Bolsheviks, and we were able to evacuate the country in a more or less peaceful manner.

Mr. Ernest Reed's article was evidently written by a level-headed and unprejudiced individual. I would like to meet him.

Mr. Gordon W. Smith, however, wrote a very different article. Many of his statements are so obviously exaggerated fabrications that comment is unnecessary. His biggest troubles were that he could not get any tobacco, whisky or rum, and he got homesick at Christmas.

One thing which both writers failed to mention was this: When the American troops withdrew from Russia in the Spring of 1919 they left a small force of physically unfit British troops to hold the various fronts until the arrival of a relief force from England.

J. J. WRIGHT,

385th Field Company, Royal Engineers,
North Russian Relief Force.

Barrows, Manitoba.

* * *

THE ANTI-EVOLUTION MOVEMENT

To the Editor of Current History:

Your quotation from the remarks of Rev. A. C. Gaebel in the issue of May in which he said: "College professors who teach the Darwinian theory of evolution (or any other theory) are more dangerous than bootleggers," is perhaps a characteristic outburst of the extreme type of fundamentalist. The absurdity of the evangelist's statement will be seen in the fact that evolution does not deny any article of Christian faith; it does not interfere with human rights; belief in evolution is not a damning sin, nor is it a saving grace, because it is outside the province of religion and of ethics. It has no more moral or religious import than the multiplication table. But the evangelist perhaps has overlooked the fact: Moses placed the "beginning" in the planetary age, when only four natural features existed—dry land, ocean, atmosphere and darkness. He spoke of dry land, not the planet Earth; and of the atmosphere, not the starry universe. These facts are proved by Moses's definition of those terms. Moses therefore outlined the addition of other natural features, like succession of day and night, the visible horizon, rise of land above the universal ocean and appearance of organic life, on the various "days." All that is strictly scientific.

This evangelist also forgot it is incumbent on all believers in the six-day-creation epic to prove Moses told the truth. When Moses says, "grass, herbs and fruit trees" all appeared on the same day (the

third day); and that "marine life and birds" all came at the same time (the fifth day); and "cat, creeping things and beasts of the earth and man" all appeared on the same day (the sixth day)—we must remember the language of Moses is ambiguous. Two interpretations may be given. Firstly, all creatures appeared on those respective days, full-fledged, just as we see them now. Secondly, the various groups were included in what the late Alexander Winchell of Ann Arbor called "comprehensive types." The comprehensive type held in potential form, as an ancestor, all its descendants down the ages. Neither of these interpretations is atheistic. But which is the true interpretation? Everybody accepted the first until about fifty years ago, when fossils were found, which suggested the second interpretation must be correct also.

Moses said creatures would "bring forth after their kind," and it is correct; it is proved a method of Nature. But it is also true, as proved a method of Nature, that creatures "bring forth variations and species differing from their parents." So the first and second interpretations of Moses's ambiguity are true. Both are proved true by the study of Nature and its processes. However, if we accept only the first interpretation and deny the second, we deny the facts of Nature and impeach Moses. Since the statements of Moses are very meager, and he failed to mention thousands of facts pertaining to Nature's methods which are demonstrated true, we can verify the truth only by the testimony of the fossils and evolution. Quoting Scripture only begs the question.

Professor Muller of the University of Texas was recently awarded the \$1,000 prize of the American Association for the Advancement of Science for his production by artificial evolution of new species of fruit flies by means of the X-ray. This is a living demonstration of evolution, and it proves true the second interpretation of the Mosaic ambiguity in Genesis; and it saves Moses from impeachment as a false teacher. Believers in Genesis ought to thank God for evolution.

GEORGE H. BENNETT.

Forest Grove, Ore.

LINCOLN'S ANTI-SLAVERY POLICY

To the Editor of Current History:

In his review of Allan L. Benson's biography of Daniel Webster, Professor David Muzzey states that "Lincoln stood adamant upon his refusal to allow slavery entrance into the territories of the West." That statement needs qualifying. In his Missouri Compromise speech Lincoln said: "Much as I hate slavery I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any great evil to avoid a greater one." Lincoln never proposed any policy based upon that statement, but it does not leave any room for criticizing Webster, or Douglas either, to the glory of one who through no particular policy of his own but rather through circumstances over which he had no control, became the Great Emancipator. Dr. Muzzey says that Webster took counsel of expediency, as any statesman does, but if any American politician ever attempted to be all things to all men that he might gain political advancement, it was Lincoln. To have advocated a policy based upon the above statement would have been to play directly into the hands of those whom it

was necessary for Lincoln to oppose if he ever was to obtain political advancement. But support can be drawn from Lincoln for almost any policy toward slavery except that of the extreme Southern proslavery men. Lincoln was nominated for the Presidency because he was less against slavery than was Seward. Lincoln's statements regarding slavery were not those of one who had the actual responsibility of putting a policy into effect, in consequence of which he was in a position to speak his mind more freely. And he spoke so freely that when the time came when the responsibility was his for putting into effect a policy with regard to slavery, he had forfeited the confidence of one of the parties whom it was necessary for him to influence. It was the fear of a slave insurrection created by the Northern agitation which gave the reactionary element control in the South, and Northern propagandists have done all they could to create the impression that these reactionaries were truly representative of the Southern people, who were facing a most perplexing and acute problem, when the Abolitionists threw a monkey wrench into the machinery. It is unquestionably true, as Booker T. Washington admitted in his autobiography, that the negroes were benefitted by slavery. As a benevolent institution Southern slavery will more than stand comparison with any contemporary system of labor either in the North or in Europe. Practically every abuse that existed in the South also existed in the North, the difference being that in the North these abuses existed under the sanctions of economic power. Southern slavery was infinitely more justifiable in principle and practice than was Lincoln's criminal conquest of the South, a conquest having no justification either in constitutional or moral law.

PAUL S. WHITCOMB.

Gladstone, Ore.

EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES

To the Editor of Current History:

I wish to comment on "The Downward Trend of Employment," by E. J. Eberling, in April *CURRENT HISTORY*.

The suggestion as to a national system of employment agencies is indeed timely. The situation in Los Angeles is very absurd from the point of the job hunter. It is practically impossible to secure a clerical position in Los Angeles without registering at an employment agency and paying a stiff fee for the privilege of working. This fee is determined by the first month's wages. In most cases it amounts to 50 per cent of the first month's earnings.

Take a young married man who has been out of employment for three months. He registers at an employment agency and is "placed." If he receives \$150 a month he must pay 50 per cent, or \$75, for the "service," which means that he must work two weeks for nothing. That situation is indeed ghastly for the "underdog." Graft pure and simple in a polite way. Companies that have jobs to offer do not bother to advertise. Why should they? The agencies continually hound them for jobs, which they, in turn, "sell" to their clients.

Of course the proprietors of the agencies are to be excused. They do what the law allows, but the

States law on fees charged is too lax. Public agencies or a national system is sorely needed.
Pasadena, Cal. JAMES GRATTA.

GERMANY'S LOST COLONIES

Madame A. van der Hoeven writes from Venice in answer to the article by Heinrich Schnee entitled "The Mandate System in Germany's Lost Colonies," which appeared in April *CURRENT HISTORY*. She says: "I here state that the greatest crime England and Europe might commit is to put any natives anywhere in the hands of the Germans." To substantiate her position she refers to the report on the natives of South West Africa and their treatment by Germany prepared in 1918 by the Union of South Africa.

"FINEST MAGAZINE OF ITS KIND"

F. S. Schisler, Department of Education, Ohio State Reformatory, Mansfield, Ohio, writes:

"The *CURRENT HISTORY* magazine is most certainly the finest magazine of its kind. I await each issue with keen interest. What a service to be able to get this magazine and to know that the great topics of the day will be found there and so ably discussed! Surely a publication of high service."

HEARING BOTH SIDES

To the Editor of Current History:

I wish to make a comment on the present policy of *CURRENT HISTORY*, namely, the publishing side by side of articles taking opposite sides on an issue. This does not seem to me to be in the interest of truth. My attitude may seem strange to some who believe there are two sides to every question. This has been repeated until it seems almost an adage, and it is convenient to quote when one wishes to be spared the responsibility of formulating an opinion or of taking a definite stand on a question, or when one runs up against an opponent who is armed with facts which prove conclusively the truth of the things he does not wish to believe. After all there is only one truth. Only one logical conclusion can be drawn from one set of facts. Our effort should be to get all the facts. The reason based on these facts can be easily differentiated from prejudiced distortion of the truth. A prominent educator, in making a public address recently, said that what is true for one man may not be true for another. This is pure sophistry.

I have been a reader of your magazine for years, and believe it ranks high as an educational influence. However, often I find, following an article of unquestioned merit by a leader of thought, an article whose author shows no desire for truth.

Washington, D. C.

GENEVIEVE K. MARVINTHAL.

World Finance—A Month's Survey

By BERNHARD OSTROLENK

EDITORIAL BOARD, *The Analyst*; FORMERLY LECTURER ON FINANCE,
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

SIX DAYS of discussion by investment bankers of nine nations, who met at Paris to arrange the first reparation loan under the Young plan, finally led to adjournment on May 28 after many of the more complicated problems involved had been turned over to a committee of four. A communiqué, issued after adjournment of the full meeting, indicated that the total amount of the issue, \$300,000,000, as previously reported, remains unchanged. The issue is to be divided into two parts; the first to consist of \$200,000,000 guaranteed by part of the unconditional annuities under the Young plan and destined for the various allied treasuries; the second portion of \$100,000,000 to be in effect a non-reparation loan which the bankers are making to Germany for the development of its railways and postal services. It fell to the subcommittee to draw the provisions of the second part of the loan so that no direct charge should bear upon Germany under the Young plan, but rather be a direct charge on the budget of the Reich and also that the bonds should have equal value as investments.

Financial circles expect the reparation bonds offered in France to bring around 98, in America 90, and in Germany 92 or 93. One of the difficulties in connection with the issuance of the bonds has been the problem of preventing the bonds from concentrating in one country. The British contend that one of the purposes of the framers of the Young plan was that the bonds should remain in the country in which they were issued. American opinion, however, seems to be that it will be difficult if not impossible to keep the bonds in one market. In order to prevent too free a flow of the obligations from one market to another, the French portion

is tax free to French holders. Other methods may be adopted in other countries.

The Bank of International Settlements will bring the German reparation bonds on a world market at a time when business the world over is in a serious depression. The Hatry disaster, which precipitated the stock crash in England last Summer, was followed by further British stock declines when stocks in the United States collapsed late in the Fall. From that time on business activity in England has progressively touched new lows. It is now estimated that British unemployment will increase to 2,000,000 by the middle of the Summer. It is not yet clear whether the decreased foreign trade is a volume decline or is merely the consequence of the decline in wholesale prices with relatively high volume intact. Indian difficulties also contribute their share in hampering foreign trade. Wholesale prices have been declining sharply and the fact that retail prices have made no corresponding declines has elicited from Mr. Snowden the charge that elfish retail establishments are hampering business revival.

In Germany, the economic crisis continues unabated. German unemployment is approaching the 2,000,000 mark; revenues from the railroads have been declining sharply and require national budgetary adjustments that are onerous to all parties and give rise to bitter political quarrels. The steel industry seems especially overexpanded, and drastic steps are being taken to liquidate stocks and deflate productivity. Wholesale commodity prices have dropped sharply during the first quarter of 1930, but have begun to remain on a low plateau during May. One hopeful sign is the continued high rate of exports of iron and steel.

France continues to present the bright spot of Europe. Employment figures are satisfactory and iron and steel production continues at a high rate. Wholesale prices are stable, the exchange rate of the franc is even and stock prices are high. Nor is official France neglecting its important tourist trade, which is about to open. The gross income from foreign tourists during the past ten years is nearly as large as the outstanding international debt.

Financial conditions in South America are not greatly different from those in Europe. Exports from Argentina for April are 32.7 per cent below April, 1928, and are typical of the declines of the first four months of 1930. The decline is both in tonnage and in value. The Argentine peso has been steadily declining as the adverse trade balance has been mounting against the country.

Brazilian finances are now suffering the consequences of liquidation of coffee stocks accumulated under the valorization plan. About 10,000,000 bags of coffee are to be sold out of stocks in order to liquidate loans made to Brazil on coffee held in warehouses. This liquidation is to be spread over a period of years, but the anticipation has already sent coffee prices the world over to record low figures, and in consequence has materially reduced the purchasing power of Brazilian producers on the world's markets. In the United States wholesale coffee prices have touched 13 cents a pound, as compared with 22 cents for the same grades last year.

Another break in silver prices to new all-time lows has further demoralized Chinese money values and is paralyzing all foreign trade. In no small measure this destruction of China as a customer of cotton cloth contributes to recent sharp declines in cotton for producers in the United States. The drop in silver in relation to gold means that China's importers of goods must pay more silver (China's money is in silver) for these imports. It makes for higher prices in China and thus restricts Chinese purchasing power. China has been an excellent customer of Japan, taking

cotton goods from Japan, who in turn has bought raw cotton from the United States. American cotton exports have decreased 1,500,000 bales during the past year, a decrease in large measure attributable to the collapse of Chinese currency. Thus the dramatic decline of Chinese currency is being felt in the South because of lower prices for raw cotton and in Japan because of idleness of cotton mills. Moreover, the collapse in silver has made Chinese silk relatively cheap on the world's market and has in a very large measure been the cause of the drastic decline in silk prices, from \$5 a pound last Fall to \$4 and less during June. This decline wipes out about \$100,000,000 silk values for Japanese producers.

In the United States there is as yet no sign of revival of business activity and careful observers see no prospects of increased activity until some time in the Fall. Commodity prices have been declining continuously since last August and as yet show no signs of having touched bottom. Accumulated commercial stocks, which had brought about the declines in prices, have as yet shown no important signs of liquidation. In fact, accumulation of stocks has continued in spite of drastic curtailment in production and there are now concerted efforts under way for voluntary agreements to stop production altogether. Easy money, brought about by the fiscal policy of the treasury and low discount rates of the Federal Reserve Banks, has led to renewed stock speculation, with consequent inflation of security values. The stock market was unable to hold these values in face of wide-spread business depression, especially since the stocks were again insecurely held through heavy borrowing on brokers' loans and bank security loans. When business men began to need funds to carry on their business and were forced to liquidate their security holdings, a general débâcle in the stock market followed. The total decline from the high early in April to the low early in May was about 15 per cent of the April values, a crash second only to the October break.